DECC N HISTORY CONFERENCE

HYDERABAD-DECCAN, 1945.



First Row From L. to R :—M. Nasiruddin Khan, Nawab Inayat Jang Bahadur, Mr. R. Subbarao, Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, Mr. G. Venkatrao, Mr. Syed Muhammad, Gunde Rao, Hon'ble Syed Muhammad Azam, Divan Bahadur Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jang Bahadur, Hon'ble W. V. Grigson, Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivaschari, Nawab Ali Yavar Jang Bahadur, Prof. Haroon Khan Shervani, Prof. D. V. Potdar, Prof. Rangachari, Dr. P. Joshi, Dr. A. G. Pawar, Dr. Abdullah Chughtai, Mr. Syed Muhammad Younus.

Second Row :—Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Mr. Kaoosji, Mr. Muhammad Mohsin, M. K. Moinuddin, Prof. Subarao, Mr. Qasimuddin Hussain, Mr. Sharfuddin, Mr. C. G. Karve, Dr. M. Ramrao, Prof. Pratapagiri Ramamurti, Mr. Abdul Qadir Shifa, Mr. Noshir A. Mistri, Mr. S. R. Shende, Prof. Abdul Qadir, Mr. Muhammad Farooq, Prof. B. V. Varma, Mr. B. Bhat, Mr. K. Sajjanlal, Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali, Mr. Badshah Husain, Mr. R. M. Joshi, Dr. S. Muhiuddin Qadri Zor, Mr. M. Sharif, Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi.

Third Row :– Mr. Hamiduddin, Khwaja Fariduddin, Abdul Majid Beg, Syed Hasan, Mr. Ali Muhammad, Mr. Abdur Rahim, Mr. Jafar Husain Khan, V. Narsing Rao, Harish Chandra Mahendra, M. Osman Ali Khan, S. Fasihuddin, M. Abdul Hafeez, K. N. Reddi, V. R. Desai, Mr. N. Isac, Mr. Abdurraziq, Muhammad

Deccan History Conference

(FIRST SESSION)

Hyderabad-Dn.

10th, 11th and 12th April, 1945

PRELIMINARY PREPARATIONS.

Scholars and others interested in the study of Deccan History, from Hyderabad as well as other parts of India, had been suggesting for sometime the need of organising periodical Conferences which would serve as a centre for Deccan History research. On the invitation of the Idara-e-Adabiyat-e-Urdu, a small gathering of scholars, under the Presidentship of Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, met on 30th April, 1944, to explore the possibility of inaugurating a Deccan History Conference on an all-India basis. Thanks to the wide and tactful guidance of Nawab Ali Yavar Jung and for the warm personal interest he displayed from the very beginning, the idea of the Conference assumed a definite shape. It was resolved that the following bodies should combine to hold under its auspices the first Session of the Conference at Hyderabad sometime in April, 1945.

1. The Idara-e-Adabiyat-e-Urdu.
2. The Department of History, Osmania University.
3. The Hyderabad Archaeological Department.
4. The Daftar-i-Divani (Records Office), Hyderabad.
5. The Archaeological and Historical Society, Hyderabad.
6. The Bazm-e-Tarikh, Osmania University.
7. The Department of History, Nizam College.
8. The History Association, Nizam College.

The informal Committee originally formed was with a few additions, turned into a Working Committee for purposes of the Conference; it was also entrusted with the duty of coordinating the activities of various sub-Committees which might function under its guidance and of being the executive body of the future Reception Committee of the Conference. The following were elected members of the Working Committee :—

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, President
Mr. Syed Mohammad Azam
Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur.
Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, O.B.E.
Mr. Syed Ali Akbar

Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani.
Dr. Syed Muhiuddin Qadri Zor.
Mr. Syed Ali Asghar Bilgrami.
Nawab Naseeruddin Khan.
Prof. Hanumanth Rao.
Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.
Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi.
Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.
Mr. R. M. Joshi.
Mr. Mahmood Ali.
The President, History Union, Osmania University.
The President, History Association, Nizam College.

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS.

For necessary arrangements in connection with the Conference the following persons and sub-Committees were appointed by the Working Committee :—

1. Local Secretary.	Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi.
2. Local Treasurer.	Dr. Syed Muhiuddin Qadri Zor.
3. Sub-Committees :—	**Members**
Finance.	Dr. Syed Muhiuddin Qadri Zor, Convener Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi. Mr. Qari Qutubuddin (on behalf of the Daftar-e-Divani in the absence of the Director).
4. Constitution.	Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, Convener Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi.
5. Entertainment.	Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Convener Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi. Mr. R.M. Joshi. Prof. Hanumanth Rao. Mir Mahmood Ali.
6 Boarding and Lodging.	Dr. Syed Muhiuddin Qadri Zor, Convener Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi. Prof. P.K. Ghosh. Mr. Khalilur Rahman. Mr. Shiv Mohan Lal.

7. Volunteer Service. — Mr. Sirajuddin Ahmad, Convener
Moulvi Abu Nasr Khaldi.

8. Reception and Conveyance. — Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Convener
Mr. Syed Mohd. Yusuf.
Mr. Sharif Husain.

9. Excursion. — Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Convener
Mr. Syed Mohd. Yusuf.
Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi.

The proposal to hold a Deccan History Conference led to another idea. Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur expressed the fear that a Conference held once in two years and held in different parts of India might make the organisation too fluid. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, while presiding over the Working Committee held on 19th November, 1944, suggested the establishment of a permanent Association in Hyderabad which should have the holding of a Conference as only one of its objects and which could meet more often than the Conference itself. This would widen the scope of the Conference and give it a firmer footing. The Association would become the nucleus of an organisation which would foster the cause of research in Deccan history and culture, and would be able to bring together all those individual workers who were devoting themselves to Deccan history into a coherent and effective body. This suggestion was welcomed by Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur and others and a new orientation was thus given to the whole scheme of future work.

According to a resolution of the Working Committee, a memorial was submitted to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to honour the Association and the Conference by becoming the Patron of both, and His Exalted Highness was graciously pleased to accept the request. Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari, K C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., President of the Executive Council, H E.H. the Nizam's Government was requested to become the Vice-Patron of the Association and the Conference.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

The Working Committee approved of the following panel of Office-Bearers for the First Session of the Conference :—

General President :- Mr. W. V. Grigson, C S.I., I.C.S., Revenue Member, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

General Secretary :- Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.

President, Ancient History Section :	Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
Secretary „ „ „	Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.
President, Mediaeval „ „	Prof Haroon Khan Sherwani.
Secretary „ „ „	Mir Mahmood Ali.
President, Modern „ „	Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari.
Secretary „ „ „	Mr. R. M. Joshi.

A circular and two Bulletins were issued by the General Secretary to all Universities, Research Societies, Record Offices, Museums, Degree Colleges and teachers of history all over India, as well as to all scholars known to have an interest in any aspect of Deccan history and culture, inviting their participation in the Conference.

Arrangements for Boarding and Lodging of the delegates were made in one of the Osmania University Hostels and, by courtesy of Government, in the State Guest House. There was provision for North Indian and South Indian (vegetarian and non-vegetarian) food for the Members and Delegates, Special cars, including one State Car, were made available for their use. Free conveyance was also supplied for the excursions to Kondapur, Golconda and the City. The State Rationing Board sanctioned extra petrol rations for the office-bearers as well as for the cars requisitioned for the Members and Delegates.

INAUGURAL CEREMONY, 10TH APRIL, 1945.

The Inaugural Meeting of the Deccan History Conference was held at the Arts College, Osmania University, on Tuesday, 10th April, 1945, at 5-30 p.m. In the unavoidable absence of Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chattari, President H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, ex-Education Member, H E.H. the Nizam's Government, delivered the Inaugural Address and declared open the First Session of the Conference in the presence of a select and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, Chairman, Reception Committee and Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, introduced the President, the Sectional Presidents and Delegates to Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung, after which a group photograph was taken.

The proceedings then commenced with the Inaugural Address. Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur delivered, at the outset, the gracious Message received from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, the Patron of the Association and the Conference which read as follows :—

"I wish to congratulate the different bodies and individuals who have collectively organised the Deccan History Conference and the Deccan History Association. I also extend a hearty welcome to those outside scholars who have come to the capital of my Dominions for attending the first Session of the Conference.

"In the wide perspective of the History of India the History of the Deccan provides a study in miniature of the History of India itself, of different races and cultures, and their indelible impress on the different developments that have taken place in the course of the ages. The integration of these different factors with the History of India as a whole, by a process of specialisation and synthesis, is likely to provide an interesting approach to the study of that interplay of forces in the north and in the south which determined the course of history. Such study would not be of purely academic interest if it is made to embrace the important aspects of the life of the people at different epochs, rather than being confined to the chronology of wars or of the rise and fall of dynasties. Such a wide view of history would assist the practical application of historical knowledge to many present problems which confront the administrator or the sociologist.

"My Government is keenly interested in all these efforts and is engaging itself, through the University, the Daftar-i-Divani and the Archaeological Department, as well as by grants to learned bodies and individual scholars, in promoting the above ends. It would welcome the cooperation in all these activities, as in the compilation of the History of the Deccan, a work recently undertaken, of those outside scholars who evince an interest in the History of the Deccan. The Conference and the Association both provide an ample and welcome forum for attaining that cooperation and for imparting to it an organic and practical shape.

"I shall be closely interested in the progress of your deliberations and shall watch your efforts in the direction of sustaining and advancing the aims and interests of the Conference and the Association with profound sympathy."

In the course of his Inaugural Address, Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung stressed the importance of the history of the Deccan and the imperative need for viewing history without bias and from an objective point of view.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung then delivered his Reception Address and explained the aims and scope of the Deccan History Conference and Association. He referred to the different activities connected with Deccan History which had been undertaken by the Osmania University, the Archaeological Department and the Daftar-i-Divani during the past two years. He said that the scheme for a comprehensive History of the Deccan had progressed satisfactorily. A scheme of preservation of pre-historic sites had been undertaken by the Archaeological Department, to which had recently been attached an Advisory Board with the object of coordinating the efforts of that Department, the University and other learned bodies and individuals in all the wide and varied fields of Archaeology. The work of classification, editing and publication

of historical records in the Daftar-i-Divani was soon to be undertaken and a start had already been made in the direction of 'calendaring' the Persian and Marathi documents.

After the Reception Address, Mr. W.V. Grigson, President of the Conference and Member for Revenue, Supply and Police, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, delivered his Presidential Address in the course of which he welcomed the modern generation of trained Indian scholars which was taking up the work of scientific research in the history of different parts of the country. This kind of work called for a vast degree of specialisation and for the stimulation of local patriotism and local pride in the recording of the history of each locality. Mr. Grigson gave a bird's-eye view of the History of the Deccan from accounts by different travellers and contemporary writers, selections from whose writings he was engaged in compiling as an anthology. He quoted from the writings of Ralph Fitch, Anthony Scharer, William Methwold, Tavernier, Pieter de Lange, Bernier and Niccolao Manucci who had visited the country in the seventeenth century and had given a vivid picture not only of the pomp and ceremony of the great and rich but of the condition of the poor and lowly. Among later writers he quoted interesting anecdotes from the works of Wolseley Haig, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone.

The General Secretary then read out the following messages of good wishes received by the President, Reception Committee :—

MESSAGES.

GOVERNORS OF PROVINCES.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras :—

"It is with great pleasure that I send a message of goodwill to the first Session of the Deccan History Conference.

The study of history can contribute much to the well-being of mankind by helping races and nations to understand the past and by this experience to avoid the same pitfalls in the future.

I hope that this first session will be a profitable one followed by many others in the years to come. I have much pleasure in sending my best wishes for its success."

His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar :—

"Wish the Conference every success.".

RULERS OF INDIAN STATES.

His Highness the Maharajah of Baroda :—

"I hope the Deccan History Conference will stimulate researches necessary for re-writing Indian History and I wish the first Session all success."

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur :—

"I send my hearty felicitations to the first Deccan History Conference and hope that under His Exalted Highness' patronage it will quicken interest in the great contribution of Deccan to the various aspects of Indian History."

His Highness the Ruler of Sandur :—

"I heartily wisn the first Session of the Deccan History Conference all success.

A scientific study of the History of the South is no less important than that of the North for a full understanding of the past of India as a whole. The South has played a conspicuous part in the political, cultural and religious life of the people in no way inferior to the part played by the North. The Dravadian culture, the Hindu Kingdoms of Chera, Chola, Kerala and Pandya and others that were set up on the extinction of these, the Bahmani Kingdom, the Vijayanagar Empire, the Empire of the Marathas which beginning in the South spread as far as Attock in the North, the three great Acharyas whose systems of philosophy have spread even to the North offer a fertile field for research to students of Indian History. The Ghorpades in the Karnatak and the Nizams in Hyderabad have many achievements to their credit. Sporadic attemps have been made by individual historians to a certain extent. Wilk's 'History of Mysore,' Sewell's 'Forgotten Empire,' Gribble's 'History of the Deccan' may be cited as examples. If work of this nature is done in collaboration the results are likely to be even better. Conferences, where historians meet, where papers are read and discussed, serve a very useful purpose in coordinating work. Hyderabad deserves to be congratulated on taking the initiative in the matter and holding the first session of the Deccan History Conference. Under the kind patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, one may expect an exhaustive and an authoritative History of the Deccan to be written and published at no distant date."

His Highness the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal :—

"Wish all success to Deccan History Conference in the great aims and objects to achieve which it has been inaugurated."

His Highness the Raja Saheb of Sangli :—

"I welcome the formation of Deccan History Association and first Session of the Deccan History Conference at Hyderabad. Congratulate the Association and the Conference on support and patronage vouchsafed to them by His Exalted Highness and wish the success in promoting and encouraging scientific study of Deccan History."

Sri Raghubir Singhji, Heir-Apparent of Sitamau State :—

"I am looking forward to the great historical drive in the Deccan, which will start with the first History Conference and will

gain momentum year by year. It shall ever be a pleasure to do my bit in that great cause."

RESIDENT AND MINISTERS.

Sir Arthur Lothian, Resident at Hyderabad :—

"I congratulate the various bodies concerned on their decision to form a Deccan History Association and to hold a Deccan History Conference on the tenth of this month. Few areas in the world contain more interesting historical remains than the Deccan and nothing could be more desirable than the stimulation of local interest in their study. I have every hope, therefore, that the Conference under the wise guidance of Mr. Grigson will be a great success and I trust it will be the forerunner of many others to come."

Sir Sultan Ahmad, Member for Information Broadcasting, Govt. of India :-

"Best wishes for the success of your Conference. I am sure its deliberations will lead to fruitful results in the interest of the country."

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Divan of Travancore :—

"I send my cordial good wishes to the Deccan History Conference and wish it all success."

Sir Mirza Ismail, Divan Jaipur :—

"Best wishes for successful Conference, encouraging constant cooperation in research and scholarship. I hope that it will produce authoritative work on Deccan History which affords such a wonderful field for discovery and interpretations."

Sir B. L. Mitter, Divan of Baroda :—

"Indian History has to be re-written by Indian scholars. In that history Deccan must occupy a most prominent place. It is in the fitness of things that the promotion and encouragement of a scientific study of Deccan history should be initiated by means of a Conference in the capital of the State of Hyderabad. Scholarship has no narrow barriers and it is hoped that those engaged in a scientific study of Deccan History will be inspired by the true spirit of research and the result of their endeavours will be crowned with success. Hyderabad has preserved Indian culture in a remarkable measure and may Hyderabad lead the way to the preparation of a comprehensive history of India as a whole."

Sir Joseph Bhore, Adviser to H.H. the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal :—

"Wish Deccan History Conference successful inaugural meeting. May its work now and in the future enrich the store of the History and culture of this part of our country and promote fruitful scientific study of the subject. It seems fitting that as in so many other fields an Indian State should take the leading part in promoting cultural research of this nature."

Mr. R. S. Panchmukhi, Dharwar :—

"Wish success Deccan History Conference."

Mr. Zaidi, Divan Rampur State :—

"Wish the Deccan History Conference all success. May it awaken genuine interest in social, cultural and political problems."

VICE-CHANCELLORS OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.

Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University :—

"It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the First Deccan History Conference is being organised under the auspices of your University. I feel sure that the Conference will be a great success and that it will help in stimulating interest in the study of the History of Deccan from the cultural, social and political point of view.

The History of Deccan links up the relations with North India and South India, and it is becoming increasingly clear that research in the history of South India will throw a flood of light on many problems which are still very much in the dark in connection with the ancient history of India. The history of Deccan will, therefore, be a most useful method of approaching the history of the two great ancient civilisations of India and to lay bare many facts which will help to a more just appreciation of the language, of the social habits and the cultural trends and of the ancient monuments of the people of Deccan and South India. Recent excavations have already yielded results of such importance to scholars of Deccan history that I feel that a Conference of this nature will be a most fruithful way of gathering together of those interested in historical research and in stimulating research activities of scholars all over India.

I wish the Conference every success and trust that it will be a permanent feature among the annual Conferences in this country."

Sir B. G. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University :—

"I was very glad to know that the Osmania University Hyderabad (Deccan), is organising a Deccan History Conference. The study of Deccan History, especially of Muslim rule in the Deccan, has not so far received the attention it deserves. The great Bahmani Empire and its successors were the most tolerant and benevolent among the Muslim States of Mediaeval India. They drew on the traditions of the earlier Hindu Kingdoms and evolved a culture which was common to all. It was in the Deccan that one of the greatest statesmen and philosophers of Mediaeval India, Mahmud Gawan, tried to build up a political structure embodying the aspirations of the land. It was also in the Deccan that an attempt was first made to evolve a common language,—I refer to Rekhta or Dakhni Urdu.

The teaching of the mediaeval saints of the Deccan, and also the evolution of Deccan architectnre, were the result of common

ideals. Culturally, socially, and politically, no part of Mediaeval India was more conscious of its common heritage than the Deccan.

I hope this Conference will give an impetus to the study of this glorious history which reflects so much of the common basis underlying Hindu and Muslim cultures, and can give great help to those who believe in the ideals of a future united India."

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancallor, Muslim University, Aligarh :—

"Congratulations with firmest conviction that your Conference will lay foundation of Deccan History on permanent basis and open new avenues of exploration and research. Offer best wishes on my behalf and Muslim University for success."

T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University :—

"I congratulate the organisers of the Deccan History Conference that is to be held with the object of promoting and encouraging the scientific study of Deccan history from the earliest times to the present day.

Indian History as it is presented today is based upon a superficial knowledge of the early activities of the inhabitants of India. It is therefore none too early that Indians who are capable of making researches into the ancient history of India should undertake to present to the world the achievements of India which is believed to have once attained a very high stage of civilization.

It is indeed fitting that the first Conference should be held in Hyderabad under the patronage of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the patron of learning. I wish the Conference every success and hope that it will achieve the very laudable object with which it is inaugurated."

Vice Chancellor, Nagpur University :—

"There is a good deal of historical material relating to the lands south of the Narbada which requires exploration and critical investigation, and I am sure that the Deccan History Conference will succeed in enlisting the support of the scholars of history in this laudable task.

I convey my best wishes for the success of the first Session of the Deccan History Conference to be held at Hyderabad."

PROMINENT PERSONS.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

"Wish the Deccan History Conference every success in its laudable object."

Sir M. Venkatsubba Rao :—

"You carry out the best traditions of the State by holding the first session of the Deccan History Conference at Hyderabad. The potentialities for great achievement are immense and I send my

best wishes both for the Conference and for the epoch-making undertaking."

Sri Shafaat Ahmad Khan :—

"The Deccan History Conference has my warmest support and I know it will do excellent work as it is in capable hands. I feel, however, that it should be affiliated to the Indian History Congress, to avoid overlapping of work and dissipation of intellectual researches. There is a provision in the constitution of the Indian History Congress to that effect."

Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, ex-Judicial Member, H.E.H the Nizam's Govt.—

"It is gratifying for the public and stimulating for the Historians that the first session of Deccan History Conference is to be held in Hyderabad which occupies most central and unique position in southern India. Attractiveness of Hyderabad is enhanced by magnificent patronage extended by the industrious and scholorly ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam to science, arts, history literature and everything calculated to promote culture. Your illuminating and industrious contribution and valuable research of your collaborators will enrich the history of Deccan which has had varied developments in the past, worthy of students' close attention. The Conference has my best wishes for its success."

Dr. John Sargent :—

"Best wishes for the success of the first Deccan History Conference,"

Dr R. E Mortimer Wheeler, Director General of Archaeology, Government of India :—

"Warmest good wishes to the first Session of the Deccan History Conference. It marks beginning of new era in Deccan studies and must incidently encourage archaeological research on which early Deccan history depends. Look forward greatly to be present on future occasions."

Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Records, Government of India :—

"Wish the Conference great success."

Dr. Tara Chand :—

"Best wishes for the success of the Session."

Reverend Father H. Heras :—

"Wish the first Session great success and hope this humble plant will grow luxuriant."

Dr. Bishweshwar Prasad :—

"The inauguration of the Deccan History Conference is a welcome move and, I have no doubt, will greatly stimulate the study of the history of one of the most important and historical regions of our country. While the Indian History Congress is devoted to the

promotion of the study and research in the history of India as a whole, it is for the local Conferences to direct the search-light of historical criticism to the past of many component parts of our mother-land whose culture and history have contributed to build up the Indian nation. I wholeheartedly welcome this young association and hope that its example will be followed by other parts of our country. I wish the Deccan History Conference all success.'

Sugra Humayun Mirza Saheba :—

"Main karkunane Conference ko mubarakbad deti hun ke unhon ne tarikhi Conference munaqid karke Hyderabad aur Hyderabad walon ke lie kamiyabi wo taraqi ka bahut bara zina banadia, kyunke tarikh ek aisi chiz hai jiske sabab se purane zamane ke halat malum hote hain. Agar dunya men tarikh na likhi jati to hamko guzishta zamane ke halat malum hi nahin hote. Bare bare badshahon ke halat se ham be khabar rahte. Khuda kare Conference kamiyab ho aur hamare mulk ko fayada pahonche."

The Conference then placed on record its deep sense of gratitude to H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar for his gracious Message in the form of the following resolution moved by the General President :—

> The Deccan History Conference assembled in their First Session in Hyderabad, under the auspices of the Osmania University and other bodies, respectfully conveys to His Exalted Highness their most grateful thanks for his gracsous Message which will greatly encourage their activities for the furtherance of sustained research in Deccan History.

The inaugural meeting terminated at 7 p,m. with brief speeches of appreciation by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, after which a film on Modern Hyderabad, containing the first filmed record of the Ajanta frescoes, was shown to the delegates. The same night, Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, entertained the delegates at dinner at which other distinguished guests were also present, including Mr. S. M. Azam, Member for Education and Pro-Chancellor of the University.

FUNCTIONS OF 11TH APRIL, 1945.

The Ancient Section of the Conference met on 11th April, 1945, at 10 a.m, at the Arts College, Osmania University, under the Presidentship of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. In his Presidential Adress the Dewan Bahadur gave a general survey of differentd dynasties who held sway over the Deccan in ancient times. Taking the age of the Mahabbharata as the starting point, he grouped round it a certain number of facts to gain thereby a chronological sequence. He referred to the Maurya

period as the beginning of real historical knowledge of the Deccan. The Asoka edicts mentioned the Deccan States, under the authority of the Empire. The coming of the Andhra dynasty into power brought the Deccan definitely into the picture of history. The Western Capital of the Andhra Empire was at Paithan on the Godavari. When the Andhra Empire disintegrated, the dynasty which sprang into importance from this confusion was that of the Vakatakas. Then came the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, who ruled over the whole of the Deccan. At the time of the Muslim invasion of the Deccan, three dynasties stood out prominently, the Yadavas of Deogir, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas of Dvarsamudra. There were half a dozen other chieftains of minor importance owing allegiance to one or other of these.

The Dewan Bahadur concluded his survey by claiming that his object was to rouse a certain amount of interest in the history of the region so that scholars interested in Deccan history might attempt to investigate and reconstruct their past.

The following papers were then read and discussed :—

1. A coin of Gautimaputra Sri Satkarni, by Prof. K. Gopalachari (Poona).
2. An inscription from Guntur, by Prof. K. Gopalachari (Poona).
3. Buddhism in the Deccan, by Prof. Hanumanth Rao (Hyderabad).
4. Where the Pulakesi-Harsha battle took place, by Dr. Sham Ra Shende (Sangali)
5. Colonisation of Bhara-Khanda by the Vaidika Aryas, by Sham Ra Shende (Sangali).
6. Life and Mission of Sri Basaweswara from Telugu Sources, by K.L. Ranjanam (Hyderabad).

The following papers were taken as read :—

1. Roman Trade with the Deccan, by B.A. Saletore.
2. A Chalukyan Patron of Northern Buddhism, by R.N. Saletore.
3. A glimpse of South India : Sankara to Ramnuja, by S. Srikantaya (Bangalore).

At 1-45 p.m. Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur invited the members of the Conference to lunch at the Bashir Bagh Palace after which the members visited the Hyderabad Museum.

The Mediaeval Section of the Conference met on 11th April, 1945 at 5-30 p.m. under the Presidentship of Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani. In the course of his Presidential Address he said that the Deccan had an individuality of its own which had been brought about by the action and reaction of different cultural influences. It seemed as if the table-land had acted as a buffer between the north and the South, between the Aryan and the Dravidian, between the followers of numerous Indian sects and between practically all the

major languages of India. These actions and reactions of culture could not fail to create a common vehicle of thought: it was in the Deccan that the rapid evolution of Dakhni or Urdu took place. This language was patronized by the Adil Shahis and the Qutub Shahis. Its earlier prose was from the pen of that great saint of the Deccan, Hazrat Khwaja Bande Nawaz of Gulbarga as far back as the beginning of the fifteenth Century. Prof. Sherwani then gave a short account of the chief historians of Madiaeval Deccan. The President then requested the writers of papers to confine their expositions to five minutes each as the number of papers was considerable. The following papers were then explained by their writers and discussed :—

(1) The Relations of Madras with Golconda (1642-1687) by Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari (Annamalai University).

(2) The Cultural Background of Political struggles in Mediaeval Deccan, by Prof. S. R. Sharma (Poona).

(3) Narhari Tirtha in Telinga Country, by Prof. R. Subba Rao, (Rajahmundry).

(4) Administration of Justice under the Bahmanis, by Mr. Abdul Hafeez Siddiqi (Hydarabad).

(5) An estimate of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah, by Mr. Nowshir A. Mistri (Bombay).

(6) The Qutub Shahi Kings of Golkonda, by Prof. Hanumanth Rao (Hyderabad).

(7) The rise and decline of the city of Aurangabad, by Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan.

(8) The city of Warangal in the 15th Century as gleaned from Telugu poetical works, by Prof. Subba Rao.

(9) Some unpublished Muslim Inscriptions from Sholapur, by Dr. Abdullah Chugtai (Poona).

(10) Group paintings of six Muhammadan saints, by Mr. Bhasker Waman Bhat (Dhulia).

(11) Chauthai, Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj Farmans given by Mughal Emperors to Raja Sahoo Chatrapati, by Mr. Bhasker Waman Bhat (Dhulia).

(12) Maratha levy on Hyderabad in the year 1709-10, by Dr. A.G. Pawar (Kolhapur).

(13) Mausoleum of Rabi'a Daurani at Aurangabad, by Prof. Abdul Wahab Bukhari (Madras).

(14) Gogi, by Mr. Syed Mohd. Yusuf (Hyderabad).

(15) Madrasai Mahmud Gawan, by Mr. Syed Muhammad (Bidar).

(16) Qutluq Khan's Policy in the Deccan, by Syed Sirajuddin Ahmad (Hyderabad).

The following papers were taken as read in the absence of their writers :—

(1) The First Foreign Invasion of the Deccan, by Wazirud. Daulah Sardar M.B. Kibe (Indore).

(2) The origin of Vijayanagar in Kalinga, by Sri Rajah Saheb of Takkali.

(3) Deccani-Urdu, its poets of the 17th Century, by Dr. K.K. Basu (Bhagalpur).

(4) Some aspects of the history of Gadval, by Gunde Rao (Gadval).

(5) Position of the Hindus in the Adil Shahi Kingdoms of Bijapur, by Dr. P.M. Joshi (Bombay).

At 9 p.m. the Members of the Conference were entertained at Dinner by Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur at his City Palace.

FUNCTIONS OF 12TH APRIL, 1945.

The Modern Section of the Conference met on 12th April, 1945, at 10 a.m. when Rao Bahadur Prof. C.S. Srinivasachari delivered his Presidential Address. The President referred in his Address to the study of the factors that brought about the decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment, in the whole country, of British, in preference to other European domination. After surveying the reigns of different Asaf Jahi rulers, he stressed the need for studying the records of the achievements of the distinguished line of ministers, which formed an additional, suitable field of investigation. Their greatness may be traced back to the times of Sayyid Lashkar Khan and his great rival, Shah Nawaz Khan Samsam-ud-Daulah. The part played by Arastu Jah and Mir Alam in later politics required further elucidation. The history of the British Residency itself was another subject of arresting interest and political significance. In conclusion, Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari maintained that materials for the study of the modern phase of Deccan History were profuse. There were heaps of documents preserved in the Record Offices at various places and in the private collections of those families whose ancestors had played an important part in Government and politics.

The following papers were then read and discussed :—

(1) Reconstruction of the Nizam-Maratha relation, by Rao Bahadur G.S. Sardesai.

(2) A Modi Bakhar at the Osmania University, by Rao Bahadur G.S. Sardesai.

(3) Sahu's letter to Nizamul Mulk Asafjah relating to Siddi Sat (1735), by Dr. A.G. Pawar (Kolhapur).

(4) Nawab Umdatul Umara and the Court of the Recorder at Madras, by Mr. K. Sajjan Lal (Hyderabad).

(5) Nizam Ali Khan and the Blank Firman, by Mr. K. Sajjan Lal (Hyderabad).

(6) Some unpublished letters of Shah Nawaz Khan Samsam-ud Daulah, by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan (Hyderabad).

(7) The political parties at Nizam Ali Khan's Durbar, by Mr. Mahmud Ali (Hyderabad).

(8) Hand-made paper industry in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions in the 18th and 19th Centuries, by S. Badshah Hussain (Hydarabad).

(9) The History of the Northern Circars during the period 1724 to 1774, by Prof. R. Subba Rao (Rajahmundry).

(10) Muzaffar Jung's enthronement at Pondichery, by Mr. Moinuddin Rahbar Faruqi (Hyderabad).

(11) Madhwa monks and the popular singers of the Deccan before the 18th Century, by Prof. Hanumanth Rao (Hyderabad).

(12) Some Poona Akhbars in the Daftar-i-Divani, by Mr. R. M. Joshi (Hyderabad)

The following papers were taken as read in the absence of their authors :—

(1) The Menagerie of the Peshwa, its site and description given in contemporary records (between 1778-1794). by Mr. P.K. Gode (Poona),

(2) Movements of Nizam Ali Khan and the Marathas, by Khan Sahib Prof. S.H. Askari (Patna).

(3) Hadiqatul Alam and its author, by Mr. Mohd. Mubarizuddin Rafat (Hyderabad).

(4) Modern History of the Deccan from Turkish Sources, by Dr. Hameedullah (Hyderabad).

The proceedings of the Modern Section terminated a little after noon. At 3-45 the members of the Conference visited the Exhibition of Historical Records at the Daftar-i-Divani which remained open to Members and the general public for two consecutive days. The list of exhibits displayed at the Exhibition is given in Appendix B.

At 5-15- p.m. Raja Shamraj Rajwant Bahadur invited the delegates to tea at his City Palace and showed them his collection of books and his private museum.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The Business meeting of the Deccan History Conference was held at the Arts College, Osmania University, on 12th April, 1945, at 8 p.m. with Mr. W.V. Grigson in the Chair. The Conference first placed on record its sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. Beni Pershad of Allahabad.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur then moved, and the Conference passed unanimously, the following resolution :—

> "That the First Session of the Deccan History Conference held at Hyderabad offers its full and whole-hearted co-operation to the Indian History Congress and the Indian Historical Records Commission and hopes that correlation of these organisations in the furtherance of their common objects will prove beneficial to the cause of historical scholarship in the country."

The Conference also unanimously adopted resolutions placing on record its sense of gratitude to His Excellency the President H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, Mr W. V. Grigson, the Revenue and Supply Member, Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur, the Ecclesiastical Member, Khan Bahadur Ahmad Alladin, the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal, Raja Shamraj Rajwanth Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur Arvamudu Iyengar, Mr. Laik Ali, Mr. Camar Tyabji and others for their generous donations and to Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur, Raja Shamraj Rajwant Bahadur and Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur for their hospitality. Thanks were also offered to the Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, for his hospitality and for the manner in which he, his staff and the students of the University helped to make the Conference a success and the stay of the delegates comfortable. The authorities of the Daftar-i-Divani and of the Museum were also thanked for the trouble they had taken,

The President informed the Conference that Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Diwan of Travancore, had very kindly extended an invitation to hold the next session of the Conference at Trivandrum. He moved, and it was unanimously agreed, that the invitation be accepted and that the thanks of the Conference be communicated to Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer.

The Conference was then declared closed by the President who explained that as the rules prepared for the Conference are the same as those of the Association, being included in the latter, the draft rules would be discussed as soon as the present Meeting resolved itself into a Meeting of the Association. He further declared that

for purposes of the first year of the Association and the Conference, the Members of the Conference would be deemed to be the Members of the Association. The Meeting of the Association then began.

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, President of the Reception Committee, moved that the following office-bearers be elected for a period of one year :—

President :-	Mr. W.V. Grigson.
General Secretary :-	Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.
Treasurer :-	Dr. Syed Muhiuddin Qadri Zor.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar proposed and Prof. D. V. Potdar seconded that the following be elected Members of the Executive Committee :—

(1) Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur.
(2) Rao Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari.
(3) Professor Haroon Khan Sherwani.
(4) Dr. P.M. Joshi (Bombay).
(5) Dr. M. Ram Rao (Guntur).
(6) Dr. A.G. Pawar (Kolhapur).
(7) Mr. Khwaja Mohammad Ahmad.
(8) Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi.

The above were then declared duly elected.

The President then invited nomination of office-bearers for the following year and the next session of the Conference. The following were unanimously elected :—

General President :-	Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishanaswami Aiyangar,
Vice-President :—	Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, O.B.E., ex-Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government
Sectional Presidents :-	
Ancient :-	Professor V. R. R. Dikshitar.
Mediaeval :-	Dr. N. Venkatramanayya.
Modern :-	Professor D.V. Potdar.
General Secretary :-	Professor H.K. Sherwani.
Treasurer :-	Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi.

The General Secretary then read out the draft Constitution of the Deccan History Association and Conference. At the outset Professor D.V. Potdar and others sought clarification of the term 'Deccan' used in the Constitution.

After some discussion Professor Haroon Khan Sherwani proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Dr. R. Ram Rao :—

> "For the purpose of this Association the Deccan shall be deemed to mean the region from the Tapti in the North to the edge of the plateau in the South and from Sea to Sea."

The resolution was carried by a majority of votes.

After certain alterations and amendments the draft Constitution, the final text of which is given in Appendix A, was adopted.

The proceedings concluded at 11 p.m. with a short speech by the General President.

EXCURSIONS AND CLOSING FUNCTION.

On 13th April, 1915, two excursions were arranged, one to Kondapur and the other to Golconda and the City. The finds at Kondapur consist of structural remains, including Chaitya Halls, Monastries, Furnaces etc., and also other antiquities including beads, terracotta figurines, pottery and 4000 Andhra coins. with 70 unpublished varieties. The party was conducted by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad of the Archaeological Departmeut.

The other excursion to Golkonda and the City was conducted by Mr. Syed Mohd. Yusuf, Asstt. Director of Archaeology.

In the evening Nawab Sir Akeel Jung Bahadur, Vice-President, Executive Council, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, entertained the members and delegates of the Conference to tea at the University Botanical Gardens. Sir Akeel Jung mingled freely among his guests and the students, and the function wound up the visit.

APPENDIX A.

CONSTITUTION OF THE DECCAN HISTORY ASSOCIATION AND CONFERENCE.

I. Name and object.

1. (a) The name of the Association shall be the Deccan History Assoctation.

   (b) The Headquarters of the Association shall be Hyderabad-Deccan.

2. The objects of the Association shall be :—

   (a) The promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Deccan History and Culture.

   (b) The holding of periodical exhibitions, meetings, symposia and biennial conferences for the purpose of showing exhibits, reading papers and holding discussions on subjects relating to the History and Culture of the Deccan.

   (c) The publication of proceedings, bulletins, journals and other works.

   (d) Co-operation with similar organisations in India.

   (e) The securing, management and disposal of funds, property and endowments for the purposes stated above.

   (f) Performance of all other acts conducive to the fulfilment of the objects of the Association.

II. Membership of the Association.

3. Membership of the Association shall be open to all persons interested in the objects of the Association, provided that the name of a candidate for membership shall be supported by two members, one of whom shall be a member of the Executive Committee.

4. (a) Members shall be of four kinds :—patrons, ordinary members, life members and honorary members. Ordinary members shall pay a minimum annual fee of Rs. 5. Persons paying Rs. 100 shall become life members of the Association. Honorary members shall be persons of outstanding eminence who have contributed to the advancement of research in Deccan history and culture. They shall be elected from time to time by the Association and shall enjoy, without any financial obligations, all the privileges of membership.

(b) Members from whom subscriptions are due shall pay them by the end of November every year.

(c) Universities and learned bodies engaged in historical research may become members by paying the usual subscription and shall be entitled to send one representative to all the meetings of the biennial Conference of the Association.

(d) *Bonafide* under-graduates studying at recognised Colleges may be admitted to all the meetings of the Association and the Conference other than business meetings on payment of Rs. 2. annually.

5. Persons contributing Rs. 500 or more shall be entitled to all the privileges of the membership of the Association.

6. Ordinary members, life members and honorary members shall be entitled to submit papers, take part in the discussions and be eligible for various offices of the Association.

III. Meetings of the Association.

7. The meetings of the Association will be of four kinds :—

(a) Ordinary meetings
(b) Biennial Conferences
(c) Business meetings
(d) Extraordinary meetings

8. Ordinary meetings of the Association will be held periodically during the calendar year for the purpose of reading papers and holding discussions on any subject concerning the history and culture of the Deccan. Only members of the Association will be entitled to take part in these meetings. Such meetings shall be open to non-members to whom special invitations may be extended.

9. Save for the first two years, only such members of the Association as have been members for two years, including the year in which the election is being held, shall be eligible to hold office. No member who has not paid his membership fee up-to-date shall be eligible to hold office nor shall he be entitled to participate in the business meetings of the Association.

10. The following business shall be transacted at the business meetings of the Association.

(a) Adoption of resolutions on matters of general policy.

(b) Consideration of the budget, report, business rules, etc.,

(c) Election of members to serve on the Executive Committee for the next term of office.

11. The quorum for the business meeting of the Association shall be 20 or ¼th the number of members, whichever is less. No quorum shall be necessary for a meeting which has been adjourned for want of a quorum, provided previous notice has been given to members.

IV. The Executive Committee of the Association and the Conference.

12. (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of the following :—

(a) a President, (b) a Vice-President,
(c) a General Secretary, (d) a Treasurer,
(e) Chairman of the Local Reception Committee,
(f) Local Secretary, (g) 8 other members;

provided that either the President or the Vice-President, the General Secretary and half the members of the Committee shall be persons who are ordinarily resident in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

(b) Save for the first year, all members of the Executive Committee shall take charge of their duties twelve months after the conclusion of the session of the Conference in which they are elected, in order to give time to the outgoing office-bearers and committee to have the transactions of the session printed and accounts settled.

13. The Executive Committee will ordinarily meet once every three months. The notice for such a meeting, along with the agenda, shall be issued at least 15 days previous to the meeting, unless it is an Extraordinary Meeting, for which seven days' notice shall be sufficient. The members of the Executive Committee, except the Chairman of the Recep-

tion Committee and the Local Secretary, shall be elected at a business meeting of the Association convened specially for the purpose. All elections shall be by ballot except when a candidate is elected unanimously.

The Executive Committee shall have the following duties :—

(a) Giving effect to the resolutions of the Association.

(b) Framing the rules of business and placing them before the Business Meeting of the Association for approval and confirmation.

(c) Management and control of the funds of the Association.

(d) Consideration of the Budget prepared by the Treasurer, in consultation with the Secretary, and placing it before the Business Meeting of the Association.

(e) Sanctioning of expenditure, subject to the powers of the President and the Secretary in this behalf.

(f) Consideration of the report prepared by the Secretary and placing of the report before the Business Meeting of the Association.

(g) The taking of all measures relating to the realisation of the objects of the Association; and

(h) Appointment of an Auditor or Auditors for auditing the accounts of the Association.

14. The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be 4, one of whom shall be either the President or the Vice-President.

15. In case of any vacancy occurring in the Executive Committee before the next general election, it may be filled by the Executive Committee for the remaining term from among the members of the Association.

V. President of the Association and Conference.

16. The President shall preside over all the meetings of the Association, the Conference and the Executive Committee, and regulate their proceedings. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observance of all rules, regulations and bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the resolutions of the Executive Committee and of the Association. He shall have one vote and, in case of equality of votes, a casting vote. He shall have the powers in his own discretion to sanction expenditure in excess of the budget upto Rs. 200.

VI. Vice President of the Association and the Conference.

7. The Vice-President shall act in the absence of the President and shall perform such other functions as are delegated to him by the President.

VII General Secretary of the Association and the Conference.

18. (i) The duties of the General Secretary shall be

(a) to conduct all correspondence of the Association;

(b) to frame the agenda of all the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee, and to issue notices and make proper arrangements therefor;

(c) to maintain the minutes of the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee;

(d) to conduct all elections;

(e) to keep charge of the office-books and registers of the Association except account books; and

(f) to maintain the registers of the members up-to-date.

(ii) The General Secretary shall have power to sanction expenditure in excess of the Budget upto Rs. 50/-.

VIII. Treasurer of the Association and the Conference.

19. The Treasurer shall be the financial officer of the Association and shall keep charge of all accounts of income and expenditure of the Association. He shall prepare the annual budget, in collaboration with the General Secretary, and place the accounts and the budget before the Executive Committee.

IX. Amendments of Rules of the Association and the Conference.

20. The rules of the Association may be amended in the following manner :—

(a) At least two months' notice shall be given to the General Secretary of all proposals for additions to or alterations in the constitution.

(b) Such proposals shall be circulated among the members of the Executive Committee by General Secretary at least one month before the meeting of the Executive Committee to be held for the purpose.

(c) The Executive Committee shall consider the proposals and make recommendations which it shall place before the Business Meeting of the Association for final decision.

Conference.

1. In order to promote the objects of the Association detailed in Rule 2 of the Constitution, Biennial Conferences will be held.
2. All members of the Association shall be deemed to be members of the Conference and will have all the privileges appertaining thereto.
3. Persons desiring to be members of the Conference only may be enrolled on payment of Rs.5/- provided that their names are formally accepted by the Executive Committee of the Association.
4. The venue of the next Conference shall, as far as practicable, be fixed by the Business Meeting held at the time of the Conference.
5. All the local arrangements for holding the Conference shall be made by a Local Committee consisting of the following :—
    1. Chairman of the Local Reception Committee.
    2. Local Secretary.
    3. Local Treasurer.
    4. At least one representative of the Executive Committee of the Association.
    5. As many other members as the Local Reception Committee may consider necessary.
6. The Local Committee shall be entitled to fix the subscription of the Local Committee at its discretion. It may also demand from the Deccan History Association a sum not exceeding ten per cent of the fees of the Ordinary and Life members of the Association enrolled since the last session of the Conference.
7. It will be the duty of the Local Secretary of the Conference to keep the General Secretary fully informed of the arrangements in connection with the holding of the Conference.
8. The proceedings and transactions of the Conference shall be published by the Executive Committee. Every member of the Association as well as of the Conference shall be entitled to receive, free of charge, a copy of the proceedings of the Conference.
9. One half of the income accruing from the membership fee of the Conference shall be made available to the Association.
10. (a) The Conference may be divided into Sections, according to periods or subjects or both, each with a Sectional President presiding over it and a Secretary. The periods permissible shall be :—

(i) Ancient (upto 1294)
(ii) Mediaeval (1294-1724)
(iii) Modern (1724 onwards)

(b) All papers intended for reading at a session of the Conference shall embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts. The summaries of papers should reach the General Secretary at least two months and the papers at least one month before the commencement of the session. No paper should, ordinarily, exceed 15 typed foolscap pages. The summary outlining the main points of discussion or controversy should not exceed 2 foolscap pages.

11. The Sectional Presidents will be elected by the Executive Committee according to Rule 12 of the Association. The Sectional Secretaries will be nominated by the Local Committee.

12. There shall be a Business Meeting of the Conference at the end of each session of the Conference for the purpose of (1) deciding about the venue of the next Conference, (2) moving resolutions, and (3) making recommendations to the Association with regard to any matters relating to the Conference.

APPENDIX B.

List of Documents displayed at the Daftar-i-Divani Exhibition.

ADIL SHAHI AND QUTUB SHAHI FIRMANS.

No.	Period	Contents of the Firmans
1.	Adil Shahi	Firmans of Mohammad Adil Shah, dated 9th Ziqada 1051 H. (1642 A.D.) regarding the appreciation of the services rendered by Shahji Bhonsla in the Carnatic and the orders for him to co-operate with the newly appointed officers, Rahmat Khan, Afzal Khan and Ghazi Khan.
2.	Ditto	Firman of Ali Adil Shah II, dated 16th Jamadiul-avval 1068 H. (1658 A.D.) addressed to Shahji Bhonsla to co-operate with Afzal Khan, the newly appointed Subedar of the Carnatic.
3.	Do	Firman of Ali Adil Shah II, dated 10th Ziqada 1074 H. (1664 A.D.) regarding the grant of Kobarkav village (Torgal Division) to Vyankoji Bhonsla.
4.	Do	Firman of Ali Adil Shah II, dated 16th Ziqada 1074 H. (1664 A.D.) in regard to the grant of Deshmukhi, etc., of Mohammadabad (Kolahal Division) to Vyankoji Bhonsla.
5.	Qutub Shahi	Firman of Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah, dated 29th Jamadiussani 1052 H. (1642 A.D.) dealing with the grant of land in Inam to Qazi Jamal of Jafarabad to meet the expenses of the Juma Mosque.
6.	Ditto	Firman of Abdullah Qutub Shah, dated 20th Jamadiul-avval 1053 H. (1643 A.D.) in regard to the grant of land to Sheikh Ishaq, Sajjada of the Shrine of Hazrat Shah Momin Tawakkali, in Qadarabad, for light arrangements at the said shrine.

No.	Period	Contents of the Firmans
7.	Qutub Shahi	Firman of Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah, dated 15th Moharram, 1054 H. (1644 A.D.) regarding the grant of Kailapur in Inam to Chandu Jakras.
8.	Ditto	Firman of Sultan Abul Hasan Tana Shah, dated 17th Jamadiul-avval, 1097 H. (1686 A.D.) regarding the grant of Deshmukhi, etc., to the sons of Yonkia Sampion Ramchandar Rao.

Mughal Documents.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
1.	Shah Jahan 1627-1758	Siaha Huzur, referring to the Durbar-i-Khas (special audience) and Durbar-i-A'm (General Audience), held by the Prince (Aurangzeb). Dated 7th Ziqad; 14th Julus, 1050 A. H. 1641 A.D.).
2.	Ditto	Memorandum, dated 2nd Rabiussani, 29th Regnal year, on the grant of a Dastak to Saqi Beg, Mansabdar, according to the Dastak of the Mutasaddis of Begum Jeo (Princess Jahan Ara). (1066 H–1656 A.D.)
3.	Do	Farman, dated 14th Moharram, 1064 H. (1653 A.D.), bearing the seal of Prince Aurangzeb, regarding the grant of subsistence allowance of two Tankas daily, together with land to Syed Abdul Karim.
4.	Do	Siaha Huzur, dated 11th Regnal year (1638 A.D.), regarding Shaista Khan's camping in Pettur pargana, his interview with Prince Aurangzeb, etc.
5.	Do	Memorandum, dated 1066 A.H. (1655 A.D) regarding the verification of the attendence of Talib Mohammad serving the Imperial Government, in the retinue of Princess Jahan Ara Begum. Endorsed and sealed.
9.	Do	An endorsed memorandum, dated 1064 A.H., 1653 A D., on the dismissal of Hi-

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		batullah, from mansab and jagir, and debarring him from attendance at the Imperial Court.
7.	Shah Jahan	Memorandum regarding the grant of Mansab to Mir Masum formerly in the service of Prince Murad Baksh.
8.	Ditto	An endorsed memorandum, dated 1063 A H., (1652 A.D.) regarding the enhancement in the Mansab of Syed Hamid, recommended by Prince Murad.
9.	Do	Memorandum, sealed and endorsed by Bakshi-ul-Mulk, regarding permission to Shaista Khan to continue impressing the seal.
10.	Do	Memorandum regarding the revenues of Khandes Suba and the Deccan, including the parganas of Daulatabad, Ellora and Aurangabad, amounting to nearly 39 crore dams.
11.	Do	Memorandum on the grant of Rs. 3000 as salary to Syed Abdul Wahab during the siege of Molhair, from the treasury of the Deccan Suba.
12.	Do	List of officers of the Imperial household including the Vakils of Prince Aurangzeb and their Mansabs, etc.
13.	Do	Memorandum regarding the Emperor's order for the transfer of gun-powder, etc., from Bahadur, in charge of artillery, to Bundidas at the time of the battle of Baklana.
14.	Aurangzeb	Copy of Parwana (order) under the seal of Rizvi Khan, Sadrussudur, regarding the grant of daily allowance to Mulla Ahmad.
15.	Ditto	An abstract of the Siaha Huzur, dated 4th Ziqad, 31st Ragnal year, (1688 A.D.) regarding the Emperor's command to inform him of the confinement of Syed Abul Hasan's (Tana Shah) relatives.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
16.	Aurangzeb	A Siaha prepared under the supervision of Abul Qasim and Md. Saied, regarding rates and weights of the coins of Shah Jahan and Alamgir.
17.	Ditto	Iqrarnama (bond) of Baqyatullah, concerning the accuracy of the indentification marks. Bearing endorsement, dated 25th Jamadius-sani, 1075 A.H; 1664 A.D.
18.	Do	Memorandum, dated 21st Regnal year, 1678 A.D. on the grant of Mansab to Debi Singh, for his distinguished services during Hyderabad Wars.
19.	Do	Copy of a Permit, dated 1093 A.H., 1682 A.D. dealing with the appointment of Syed Tajuddin vice, Md. Mir for the establishment of Postal relay Stations (Dak Chauki) for the Royal Army.
20.	Do	Extracts of Siaha Huzur, dated 1100 A.H., 1688 A.D. relating to the bestowal of Robes of Honour, etc., on Askar Khan, Mansabdar of 4000 Zat.
21.	Do	Royal Command, dated 1076 A.H., 1665 A.D., in respect of the restoration of and enhancement in the Mansab of Shaikh Abdul Hameed for his service in the Deccan.
22.	Do	Extract of the Siaha Huzur, dated 1098 A.H., 1686 A.D. Royal Order in connection with the naming of Feroz Nagar instead of Raichur Fort, and a request of Multafit Khan for grant of Birvapur and Jatpol parganas.
23.	Do	News-letter of Hyderabad city, dated 1071 A.H.; 1660 A.D. regarding the marriage of Sultan Abdullah's daughter with Ali Adil Shah II.
24.	Do	News-letter of Hyderabad City, dated 1072 A.H.; 1661 A.D. dealing with the marriage of Syed Durraj Najafi, with Sultan Abdullah's daughter, who later on was married to Tana Shah.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
25.	Aurangzeb	Dastak (permit), dated 14th Regnal year, 1672 A.D, authorizing Karim Beg, to equip a ship for the special use of the Emperor's consort, proceeding to Mecca.
26.	Ditto	Memorandum, dated 23nd Regnal year; 1690 A.D., on the death of Tayyab Beg, posted at the tomb of Nawab Rabia Daurani (Dilras Bano Begum, Aurangzeb's wife).
27.	Do	News Report of Hyderabad city, dated 1071, 1660 A.D., relating to Sultan Abdulh's yearly bath at Sangam.
28.	Do	Agreement Bond, dated 26th Regnal year (1683 A.D.) submitted by Rukhmaji, Mansabdar, pledging to oppose the enemy in the jurisdiction of his village Jakhori and to arrest or kill Deuji. Bearing the seal of Rukhmaji.
29.	Do	Agreement Bond, dated 24th Regnal year (1681) submitted by Dunkar Khan, Zamindar of the Fort of Nirnala, pledging himself supervision of transportation of horses, arms, and other weapons of war accross the border of his jurisdiction into the territories of Bijapur and Hyderabad without permit.
30.	Do	Tajwiznama (Proposed Memo.) submitted to the agents of Prince Mohammad Moazzam, Shah Alam, regarding the enhancement in the Mansab of Param Deo for the meritorious services rendered in the battle of Saikore. Dated 23rd Regnal year (1680)
31.	Do	Daily news report of Udgir Fort, dated 1073 A.H. (1662) regarding murder of Ihtemam Khan, Qiledar of Udgir by the servant of Murshid Quli Khan and the latter's assasination by women of Ihtemam Khan's family.
32.	Do	Abstract of the Siaha Huzur dated 31st Regnal year (1688 A.D.), regarding the

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		exemption of the Dakhni servants from the security bond to the extent of one thousand Mansab.
33.	Aurangzeb	Abstract of Siaha Huzur, dated 1099 A.H. (1687 A.D.) regarding the tribute presented by Mohd. Masum Vakil of Abul Hasan Tana Shah to the Emperor in shape of gold, silver coins, and various kinds of scents, etc.
34.	Ditto	Memorandum regarding the Emperor's order to Namdar Khan, Sar Buland Khan for attacking Sivaji from different directions and Sivaji's plundering of wealth and property of bankers of Nilanga.
35.	Do	Parwangi (Permit) regarding the promotion of Muhammad Taj as a reward for his meritorious services rendered in the skirmishes of Sivaji. 14th Regnal year; 1081 A.H. 1671 A.D.
36.	Do	Memorandum regarding the Mansabs of Maharaja Jaswanth Singh (7000 Mansab and 5000 Sawar), Raja Rai Singh (5000 Mansab and 5000 Sawars), Rao Bhau Singh (6000 Mansab and 2000 Sawars) and Sobh Karan (2000 Mansab and 1200 Sawars).
37.	Do	Memo, regarding the grant of Mansab with Jagir to Sambhaji.
38.	Do	Memo. regarding the exemption of Sahuji, son of Sambhaji, holder of the rank of 7000 Zat and 7000 Sawar from security for personal appearance.
39.	Do	Dastak (Permit) regarding the arrest of Shivaji and his son after their flight from the Capital.
		9th Regnal year, 1076 A.H. (1666 A.D.)
40.	Do	(Muchalka) Agreement Bond, dated 1091 A.H. 1680 A.D. submitted by and bearing the seal of Md. Momin, Faujdar of Khandesh Suba with regard to his supervision over the people crossing the border of Hyderabad and Bijapur.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
41.	Aurangzeb	Petition, submitted by Naraji, dated 14th Regnal year; 1672 A.D. praying for the grant of facilities during the siege of Islamabad, and some compensation in connection with the damage done to his Jagir. Bearing Royal endorsement.
42.	Ditto	Dastak (Permit), dated 1092 A.H. 1681 A.D , addressed to Kamyab Khan regarding the despatch of a list of recruits, recommended by Prince Md. Shah Alam.
43.	Do	Dastak (Permit), dated 1094 A.H., 1683 A.D, regarding the restoration of Jagir to Rimmaji, formerly in the service of Sambhaji posted under the command of Bakshiul Mulk, Ruhullah Khan and Prince Md. Azam.
44.	Alamgir II 1754-59	Firman, dated 5th Jamadiussani (1758). Bearing the Royal seal, regarding the grant of the village of Dandarajpuri, as Inam Altamgha to Balaji Baji Rao (The Peshwa).
45.	Ditto	Firman, dated 6th Moharram 1173 A.H. (1759 A. D.) Bearing the Royal seal, regarding the grant of Qiledari of Bandar-i-Surat as Altamga to Balaji Baji Rao (The Peshwa).
46.	Shah Alam II 1759-1896	Firman, dated 3rd Shavval 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.) Bearing the Royal seal. The Emperor exempts the Hindus from the tax for bathing in the rivers and lakes.
47.	Ditto	Firman, dated 21st Shavval, 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.) Bearing the Royal seal, regarding the grant of Chandi Pargana, as Inam Altamgha to Pandit Pradhan, Maharaja Narain Rao (The Peshwa).
48.	Do	Security Bond submitted by Shaikh Ibrahim Mansabdar, for the personal appearance of Abdur Rasul, Captain of a ship. Bearing the seal of Hasan Ibrahim. Dated 21st Regnal year (1779).

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
49.	Shah Alam II	Tajwiznama (proposed memorandum), dated 1181 A.H. 1768 A.D., bearing the Royal Sign Manual, submitted by Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur for the sanction of Mansab to Shankar Ram, etc.
50.	Ditto	Copy of Firman, dated 1767 A.D. conferring the title of Baha-ud-Dowla, Babar Jung, with the grant of 5000 Zat and 4000 Sawar to Mr. Fuller, through Najib Khan Bahadur, Sabit Jung. Bearing the seal of Qazi Abdul Hamid.

Asaf Jahi Documents.

No	Period	Contents of the Decuments
1.	Asaf Jah I	Office note, praying for writing up the 'Sanad' in regard to the grant of the posts of Zuadar and Faujdar, etc. of Vellore and other Sarkars to Haji Mohammad Husain Khan.
2.	Ditto	Office note, dated 8th Jamadi-ul-avval 1146 H. (1733 A. D.) regarding the grant of a sanad, for the posts of Faujdar and Shiqdar of Narikondah parganah (Bidar Subah) to Sheikh Lutfullah.
3.	Do	Office note, dated 12th Zilhajja 1149 H. (1736 A. D.) relating to the granting of a sanad for the posts of Faujdar and Amanatdar of Vellore and Rajahmundary Sarkars, to Anwaruddin Khan in addition to his previous responsibility of administering the Sarkar of Chicacole.
4.	Do	Account of the collections and arrears in respect of the tribute due from Lokoji, the Zamindar of Tanjore, in the Carnatic division, Hyderabad Subah, with reference to the petition of Saadatullah Khan.
5.	Do	Petition, submitted by Saadatullah Khan for the sanction of his appointment to the

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		posts of Faujdari and Divani of the Carnatic division, Bijapur Subah and Tahsildari of Serirangapatam in place of Tahir Muhammad Khan.
6.	Asaf Jah I	A copy of an endorsed office-note issuing orders for the collection of revenue from the torritories adjoining Fort Nusratgarh (Jinji) and the Peshkash due from the Zamindar of Tanjore and Trichnopoly.
7.	Nawab Nasir Jang Bdr.	Petition of Husain Dost Khan Mobaraz Jang (Chanda sahib) regarding the grant of Mahalat to himself and to his son, Ali Raza Ghazanfar Jang. Dated 1102 H. (1748 A. D.).
8.	Ditto	Petition of Sayyid Lashkar Husain, dated 9th Moharram 1162 H. (1748 A. D.) relating to the payment of Rs. 5000 in connection with the construction of Asaf Jah's tomb.
9.	Nawab Muzaffar Jung Bdr.	Endorsed office note, dated 29th Safar 1164 H. (1750 A. D.) regarding the grant of Trichnopoly, etc, on contract of revenue to Ali Raza Khan, Ghazanfar Jung.
10.	Ditto	Petition of Ali Raza Khan, Ghazanfar Jung, regarding the depositing of revenues of Trichnopoly, etc. in the Government Treasury, bearing the Nizam's sanction. Dated 9th Safar 1164 H. (1750 A. D.).
11.	Do	Endorsed office note, dated 29th Safar 1164 H. (1750 A. D.) relating to the collection of revenues of the Carnatic and the maintenance of militia, from 1160 Fasli (1164. H.) to Shamsuddaulah, Husain Dost Khan (Chanda sahib) in place of Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan.
12.	Nawab Salabat Jung	Petition of Monsieur Bussy Ghazanfar Jung, with his seal thereon, in respect of the grant of a sanad, of revenue contract of

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		Chicacole, Rajahmundry and Mustafanagar Sarkars for 24 lakhs of Rupees, to meet the salaries of French troops, under his command, from 1163 F. Bearing the sanction of the Nizam.
13.	Nawab Salabat Jung	Endorsed office note, dated 21st Rabiul-avval 1164 H (1750 A. D.) regarding the permanent grant of Niabat Faujdari Carnatic and Sehbandi Mahalat, together with the Amanat and Shiqdari of the said Mahalat and also Niabat Qiladari of Nusratgarh on contract of revenue to Husain Dost Khan, Shamsuddaulah Bahadur (Chanda sahib).
14.	Ditto	Endorsed office note, dated 21st Rabiul-avval 1164 H. (1750 A. D.) relating to the grant of Divani Carnatic, Hyderabad Subah, Tahsildari Peshkash of Tanjore and also Qiladari and Faujdari and Amanatdari of Trichnopoly, etc., on contract of revenue to Ali Raza Khan, son of Shamsuddaulah (Chanda sahib).
15.	Do	Office note, dated 28th Shavval 1164 H. (1750 A. D.) regarding the grant of salary to Balkishan, Mushrif and Tahvildar (treasurer and superviser) of the tomb of Asaf Jah I, with the sanction of the Nizam.
16.	Do	Office-note, dated 4th Safar 1167 H. (1753 A. D.) regarding the petition of M. Bussy, Ghazanfar Jung, Commander-in-Chief, praying for the grant of revenue-farming of Chicacole, Mustafanagar and Rajahmundry Sarkars, for Rs. 24 lakhs, to meet the expenses of the French troops under his command, with the sanction of the Nizam.
17.	Do	Endorsed office note, dated 20th Jamadius-sani 1170 H. (1756 A. D) in respect of the renewal of Sanad of Madad-i-Mash (subsistence allowance) and Kharch-i-

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		Sadabarat (expenses for feeding the poor) to Krishnachari of Masulipatam.
18.	Nawab Salabat Jung	Endorsed office note, dated 24th Ramzan 1172 H. (1758 A. D.) in respect of the grant of Masulipatam and Nizampatam Sarkars, in Inam, to Colonel Poole.
19.	Ditto	Endorsed office note, dated 5th Ziqadah 1173 H. (1759 A. D.) relating to the grant of Jagir from Indruti parganah, Hyderabad Subah, to Balawant Rao, the Vakil of Rao Balaji Pandit Pardhan.
20.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	Copy of the office memorandum, dated 26th Rabiul-avval 1175 H. (1761 A.D.) conveying orders that the 5th Zilhijja 1173 H. (1759 A. D.) may be entered in the Government offices as the date of accession of Nizam Ali Khan with the endorsement of Mir Adul Hai Khan, Diwan of the Deccan.
21.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	Office note, dated 27th Rabiussani 1184 H. (1770 A.D.) in regard to the petition of Shah Chirag, to lay a water pipe, from the water reservoir, for the mosque attached to the tomb of Hazrat Shah Sirajuddin at Aurangabad.
22.	Ditto	Memorandum regarding the rates of the grain market on the other side of Musi river (Begum Bazar) dated 13th Shaban 1189 H. (1774 A.D.).
23.	Do	Details of the Jagirs of Asaf Jah I, and his eldest son, Nawab Firoz Jung, in the province of Shahjahanabad. Dated 14th Ziqada, 1200 H.
24.	Do	Inayatnama under the seal of Tahniat-un-nisa Begum conveying the command for the attendance of Rajah Appa Rao Bahadur at the Darbar. 1200 H. (1785 A.D.).
25.	Do	Draft of a letter to General Campbell for providing facilities to Vikalat Ram, officer in charge of ships.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
26.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khah	The Nizam names a village, which Zaibun Nisa Begum had caused to be inhabited, as Asafnagar Kalan, under his own sign manual on 2nd Jamadiussain 1212 H. (1797 A.D.).
27.	Ditto	Triennial tabular statement of exchange rates of Huns.
28.	Do	Orders issued by the Nizam, granting some villages to meet the salary of his wife.
29.	Do	Petition submitted by Raja Raghutam Rao, for the arrangement of Postal Service between Hyderabad and Poona.
30.	Do	Draft of Dastak (Permit), issued under the seal of Azamul Umara, Arastu Jah Bahadur, regarding instructions about striking copper coins.
31.	Do	Draft of Qaul-nama regarding the issue of thc coins, minted in Kalyan, belonging to the Jagir of Mumtazul Umara.
32.	Do	Copy of Qaul-nama issued by Arastu Jah Bahadur in the name of Prabhu, etc., technicians of the mint of Kalyan, regarding the renewal of permssion for miniting the coins.
33.	Do	Draft of letter to Najmud-Daulah Bahadur to get the ship repaired, transporting it by Krishna river to Machli Bandar, (Masulipatam).
34.	Do	Office note regading: (i) the orders to Rai Sedh Mul to welcome and introduce the Pandit at the palace, (ii) grant of village Nacharam, (iii) the statement of the arrears of the revenue.
35.	Do	Office statement referring to the verification of the rolls of the Eurasian soldiers attached to Khwaja Inyatlullah Khan.
36.	Do	Memorandum regarding the Khilat (robe of honour) bestowed on Mir Nizam Ali Khan by the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam II.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
37.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	Petition of Rai Babu Rai, Asaf Jani Vakil, in respect of the grant of a receipt of a hundred and one Ashrafis, presented on behalf of Nizam Ali Khan, as Nazar to the Emperor (Shah Alam II) on the anniversary of his accession, and praying for the grant of receipt under the Royal Sign-manual. Bearing endorsement in pencil: "101 Ashrafis have been graciously received."
38.	Ditto	A list of additional titles, conferred on Nizam Ali Khan, by Emperor Shah Alam II: Farzand-i-martaba-i-baland, Jigar gusha, Bajan paiwand, Muzaffarul Mumalik, Asaf Jah Nizamul-mulk, Nizamuddaulah, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jung, Sipah Salar, Yar-i-Wafadar, Rustum-i-Dauran, Arastu-i-Zaman.
39.	Do	Copy of the petition by Nawab Shujaul-Mulk (the Nizam's son) concerning the Raichur Doab Expedition under his command.
40.	Do	Petition of Aitezaduddaulah, bearing the sanction of Rs. 25000, against the loss, sustained in the riots, caused by the army of Modhoji Bhonsla.
41.	Do	Petition of Rajah Badrinath, submitted in obedience to the Nizam's inquiry into the existing conditions of the Deccan.
42.	Do	Office memorandum dealing with the list of the Baitul Mal (unclaimed property) presented by Qazi Karimuddin Muhammad Khan.
43.	Do	News-letter, regarding the appointment of a commander, conveying news also of the attack of Jagannath Rao on Masulipatam, the capture of Pondichery and the arrival of Mir Abul Qasim at Nagpur via Chanda.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
44.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	A copy of an order regarding the remission of the tax, levied on the paper manufacturers and the dealers of Kaghzipura, Daulatabad.
45.	Ditto	Abdul Aziz Khan's report confirming the arrival of Major Montgomery and his battalions at Suryapet, District Nalgonda. Dated 5th Ziqada 1205 H. (1791, A.D.).
46.	Do	Draft of a letter of Azamul Umara Arastu Jah to Naik of Elichpur ordering him to welcome Sikandar Jah (Nizam's son), who was going to participate in the Mysore war. Dated 22nd Zilhijja 1205 H. (1791, A.D.).
47.	Do	(Gold sprinkled paper) Prince Sikandar Jah Bahadur requests for the payment of arrears of his salary amounting to Rs. 76000, and to deposit the balance with his revered mother, Hazrat Bakshi Begum Sahiba. Dated 8th Rabiulawal, 1205 H. (1790, A.D.)
48.	Ditto	Office-statement, dated 14th Rajab 1206 H. (1792, A.D.) in regard to the acqusition of Tipu Sultan's territory by the East India Co., Rao Pandit Pardhan and the Nizam, as the result of Third Mysore War.
49.	Do	Memorandum, dated 22nd Rajab 1206 H. (1792, A.D.) on the revenue settlement of the territory, ceded by Tipu Sultan, to the Nizam, after the Third Mysore war.
50.	Do	Letter of Azamul Umara, ordering to inform Pandit Pardhan that the Qiledar of Balhari Fort evaded giving possession to Jasaratuddawla. Dated 11th Shavval 1206 H. (1792, A.D.).
51.	Do	Petition of Tipu Sultan's Agents respecting the receipt of 55 lakhs of rupees paid in accordance with treaty entered into between the Nizam, Tipu Sultan, East India Company and Rao Pandit Pardhan. Dated 23rd Rajab 1206 H. (1792, A.D.).

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
52.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	Reports about the hunting-camps and gifts granted to the Master of Hunts.
53.	Ditto	Office statement. Petition of Najmuddawlah for amalgamating Artillery under his supervision with that of the Government.
54.	Do	Petition by Siddi Farhan and Siddi Ahmad stating their triumphant entry into Jagtial Fort and taking possession of keys of the main gates from Hyder Ali Khan. Dated 17 Rajab 1208 H. (1794, A.D.).
55.	Do	News bulletin, Madras, dated from the 11th till the 18th of Zilhijja 1208 H. (1794, A.D.) containing news regarding the despatch of letters from Tipu Sultan to Wala Jah and the East India Co., transport of cannon, etc., from Pondichery to Madras and the arrival of Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, from England.
56.	Do	News Bulletin, Madras. Moharram 1210 H. (1795, A.D.):- (1) Departure of Lord Hobart Governor of the, Company, to Ganjam, (2) appointment of Mr. Chandells, as officiating Governor, etc
57.	Do	Office-note about two months' salary of the British Platoons; payment of Rs. 107426/10/6 according to Tahnama (agreement bond) subsequent to their arrival at the frontier. Dated 3rd Rabiul-avval, 1210 H. (1795, A.D.).
58	Do	Draft of Inayatnama to Amin Khan Arab, ordering him (1) to take revenue receipt of Rs. 1000,000 (2) to return militia and horsemen from Srirangapatam, (3) to give injunction to Shorapurwala to relinquish Sukhar Fort. Dated 20th Rajab, 1121 H. (1796, A.D.).
59.	Do	News-letter, from Chinapatam. dated 17th Jamadiul-avval, 1211 H. (1796 A. D.) reporting the arrival of troops in 8 ships

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		from England with a view to attacking the forts occupied by Tipu Sultan.
60.	Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan	Draft of the letter addressed to Tajuddin Khan Bahadur, dated 19th Jamadiul-avval 1211 H. (1796 A. D.) conveying directions to repel the army of Rajah Raghoji Bhonsla which had reached the borders of Nander. Bearing Nizam's mark of assent.
61.	Ditto	Proclamation, dated 14th Shavval 1217 H. (1802 A. D.) on behalf of the East-India Co. and Asaf Jah Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bdr. regarding the form of administration in Mysore State, after the war of 1214 H. (1799 A. D.) and the restoration of the State to Maharaja Eshwar Kishan Raj.
62.	Nawab Nasir-ud-daulah Bahadur	Memorandum dealing with the discount of hundis (bills of exchange) prevalent at various dates at Amraoti, Ramzan 1260 H. (1845, A.D.).
63.	Ditto	Copy of petition, dated 10th Jamadiussani 1255 H. (1839 A.D) by Mohan Lal, postal officer, entreating sanction for abolishing the British postal service, between Burhanpur and Shah-Jahanabad, from the 1st of Rajab 1255 H. and establishing the Hyderabad State postal service in its place. Bearing copy of Mahraja Chandu Lal's Sign Manual.
64	Nawab Sikandar Jah Bdr.	An endorsed office note, dated 6th Rabiussani 1220 H. (1805 A.D.) regarding the petition of the Vakil of East India Company for the grant of a receipt of Rs. 700,000 being the stipulated sum paid annually for the Sarkar of Chicacole, Mustafanagar, etc. for the year 1804 A, D. remitted by Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, through Captain Kirkpatrick, Hashmat Jang, Resident at Hyderabd, according to the agreement concluded in 1766 A.D.
65	Ditto	An endorsed office note, dated 22nd Rabi-ul-avval 1221 H. (1806 A.D.) relating to

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
		the grant of a receipt of Rs. 700000 being the stipulated sum paid annually for the Sarkars of Chicacole, Mustafanagar, etc., for the year 1805 A.D., remitted by Sir George Barlow, Governor-General. through Thomas Sydenham, Resident at Hyderabad, according to the agreement concluded in 1766 A.D.
66	Nawab Sikandar Jah Bdr.	Draft of the Qaul (written agreement) dated 3rd Zilhajja 1237 H. 1821 A.D.) granting permission to the minters of Amraoti, Petha for the minting of "Shamshiri" coins and imposing restrictions on others under threat of penalty.
67	Ditto	Memorandum, dated 10th Shavval 1238 H, (1822 A.D.) regarding the standard weight of the silver rupee, minted at Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Amraoti mints. Hyderabad and Aurangabad Rupee (1233 H) 11 mashas. (silver 9 mashas, 2 grs. & alloy 1 masha 6 grs.) Amraoti Rupee: 11 mashas (silver 8 masha, 7 grs. and alloy 2 masha, 1 gr.)

A descriptive list of Marathi Papers.

No.	Period	Contents of the Documents.
1.	Aurangzeb 1658-1707 ——— Rajaram 1689-1700	Copy of a 'Sanad' issued by Rajaram to Vishwanath Bhat of Purli, Suba Berar, that four annas per day be granted to him. Bears a seal of the Qazi in Persian.
2.	Farukh Siyar 1713-19 ——— Sahu 1708-1749	Copy of a 'Sanad' issued by Sahu to Gambhir Siddha Gosanwi of Vadval, Purgana Puranda for "Inams" of the Mauza.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
3.	Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bdr. 1759-1803 ———— Madhav Rao II 1774-1795	Krishna Rao Ballal's endeavours to effect an understanding between Moroba Phadnis and the Karabharis. Moroba pretends renuciation but is willing to accept the command of the army and work in collaboration with Nana and Bapu.
4.	Ditto	Fateh Singh Bhonsla was entertained at a banquet by Haripant Phadke. Phadke expresses reluctance to lead the Carnatik campaign becaue of arrears of pay due to the army. Appa Balavant was willing to lead the campaign independently. Mahadaji Behre was ordered to conduct the expedition with Mons. Mitches. Tippu dislodges his pickets near Sounde and Bidnur in face of the Maratha advance.
5.	Do	Bhim Rao Panse acknowledges the receipt of sugar coated sesames from Nanaji Shankar, Rai Rayan (1730-1785).
6.	Do	Ramachandra Ganesh Kanade acknowledges the reeipt of sugar-oated sesame from Nanaji Shankar, Rai Rayan (1730-178).
7.	Do	The Peshwa writes to Nanaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1730-1785) asking him to continue the 'Inam' of Andewadi to the grantee, Padmakar Joshi of Sangameshwar.
8.	Do	Nana Farnavis acknowledges the receipt of sugar-coated sesames from Nanaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1730-1785).
9.	Do	Sakheram Bhagawant acknowledges the receipt of sugar-coated sesames from Nanaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1730-1785).
	Do	Mudhoji Bhonsle (1756-1788) sends robes in connection with Dasara festival to Dhondaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1728-1783), bears an octagonal seal of the Bhonsla.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
11.	Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bdr.	Invitation from Nana Farnavis to Dhondaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1728-1783) to attend the marriage of the Peshwa.
12.	Ditto	Tukoji Holkar sends a letter of condolence to Renukadas Rai Rayan (1765-1822) upon the death of Dhondo Shankar Rai Rayan; bears an almond-shaped seal of the Holkar.
13	Do	Mahadaji Scindia suspects Ali Bahadur when his supplies to the fort of Ajmer were looted. In the Deccan fort-keepers were instructed to replenish their stocks. Malet congratulates the Peshwa upon the capture of Dharwar. Fateh Ali Khan's (Tipu's) ascent upon Bangalore plateau was explained to the Peshwa by means of a map.
14.	Do	Bhim Rao Yeshwant Panse writes from Panwel to Nanaji Shankar Rai Rayan (1730-1785) that he had been to the place to chastise the Pretender.
15.	Do	From the camp of Haidar Ali Khan at Chandawar, writes to Hyderabad. Haidar over-powers the English. Grain sold at two seers a rupee in the British camp. The English arrange to escape by the sea.
16.	Nawab Nasir-ud-daulah Bahadur. 1829- 1857	Haraprasad Tiwari addresses Rai Dinanath Shukla, an agent of the Rai Rayans. The writer displays an excellent literary style.
17.	Ditto	News report pertaining to the Huzur's palace. The Nizam goes to the mango-grove, near the Mir Alum tank where Maclean (1756-1848) was camping.
18.	Do	News-report pertaining to the Huzur's palace General Fraser gives a banquet to his staff in the Residency.
19.	Do	News-report pertaining to the Huzur's palace. Raja Ram Bakhsha was ordered to remit 50,000. His house was to be confiscated.

No.	Period	Contents of Documents
20.	Nawab Nasir-ud-daulah Bdr.	An undated treatise on determining the merits and demerits of horses, their diseases and prescriptions for their cure, composed in 'ovi' metre.

APPENDIX C.

List of Members and Delegates

1. Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan, D. Litt., Osmania University, Hyderabad.
2. Mr. G. Venkat Rao, M.A,, LL B., Reader in History. Andhra University, Guntur.
3. Mr. P.K. Gode, M.A., Curator, B.O.R. Institute, Poona, 4.
4. Dr. Mehdi Hasan, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., 24, Mc Leod Street, Room 2, P.O. Elliot Road, Calcutta.
5. Rev. Father H. Heras, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xaviers College, Bombay.
6. The Director, Adyar Library, Adyar, S. India.
7. Dr. A.G. Pawar, M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
8. The Hony. Secretary, Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal, Poona City.
9. Mr. S.M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.S., Regional Survey Committee, N.W.F.P., Peshawar City.
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Inaugural Address

By

Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, M.A. (Oxon)
Ex-education Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government
Hyderabad (Dn.)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

BEFORE I proceed to declare open this first session of the Deccan History Conference, it is my previlege to read out to you the gracious Message which I have had the honour to receive from His Exalted Highness for delivery to you. The Message reads :—

"I wish to congratulate the different bodies and individuals who have collectively organised the Deccan History Conference and the Deccan History Association. I also extend a hearty welcome to those outside scholars who have come to the Capital ot my Dominions for attending the first session of the Conference.

"In the wide perspective of the History of India, the History of the Deccan provides a study in miniature of the History of India itself, of different races and cultures, and their indelible impress on the different developments that have taken place in the course of the ages. The integration of these different factors with the History of India as a whole, by a process of specialisation and synthesis, is likely to provide an interesting approach to the study of that interplay of forces in the north and in the south which determined the course of history. Such study would not be of purely academic interest if it is made to embrace the important aspects of the life of the people at different epochs, rather than being confined to the chronology of wars or of the rise and fall of dynasties. Such a wide view of history would assist the practical application of historical knowledge to many present problems which confront the administrator or the sociologist.

"My Government is keenly interested in all these efforts and is engaging itself, through the University, the Daftar-i-Divani and the Archaeological Department, as well as by grants to learned bodies and individual scholars, in promoting the above ends. It would welcome the co-operation in all these activities, as in

the compilation of the History of the Deccan, a work recently undertaken, of those outside scholars who evince an interest in the History of the Deccan. The Conference and the Association both provide an ample and welcome forum for attaining that co-operation and for imparting to it an organic and practical shape.

"I shall be closely interested in the progress of your deliberations and shall watch your efforts in the direction of sustaining and advancing the aims and the interests of the conference and the Association with profound sympathy."

I have also been desired by Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari, President of the Executive Council, to express to you his deep regret at having been unable to attend the Conference or to accept your invitation to open it. He has had to leave for Delhi yesterday, but he has asked me specially to tell you how much he appreciates the idea of forming a Deccan History Association and a Deccan History Conference. Some of you may recall that, in inaugurating the fifth session of the Indian History Congress in this City in December 1941, he had stressed the importance of the History of the Deccan and also the great need of viewing history without bias and from an objective point of view. He has, therefore, desired me to congratulate you all on this new adventure of yours and I wish personally to add my own congratulations to his.

It is not a mere coincidence that the Deccan has become the home of some of the most renowned relics of Indian History, such as the world-famous caves of Ellora and Ajanta, the magnificent temples at Ramappa and Palampet, the remains of mediaeval culture, like the Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar, the Panchakki and the Bibi-ka Maqbara at Aurangabad. The geographical position of the Deccan justifies its claim to be the core of India, and it was thus only natural that it should have been the battlefield of empires and should have become the home of many races in early, mediaeval and modern times.

You will have, in the course of your stay in Hyderabad, occasion to visit the State Museum, the Daftar-i-Divani and the State Library. Along with the University, these institutions represent cultural activities which have received constant attention and encouragement from the State. Much work still remains to be done in the field of Deccan History, and, using these great institutions as a base, it is a welcome idea that there should be a forum for the work, large enough to ensure collaboration with outside scholars. I, therefore, wish your Association and your Conference all success, and convey to you also the same good wishes

of the President of the Council whom we all miss here today. He has always been of such immense help in all matters of cultural importance or interest.

I have now great pleasure in declaring your Conference open.

Welcome Address

By

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur,

Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University,
Constitutional Adviser to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government

Hyderabad (Dn).

NAWAB SIR MAHDI YAR JUNG BAHADUR,
MR. GRIGSON, SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS
OF THE CONFERENCE,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MY first words must be of deep gratitude to His Exalted Highness for his gracious Message. The Association and the Conference are fortunate to be the recipients of such high patronage, in terms so inspiring and royal.

The unavoidable absence of His Excellency the President of the Executive Council has caused us deep disappointment; fortunately, his choice of deputy for this inaugural function has fallen on Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, up to five days ago Member for Education, whose wide culture and scholarly attainments, combined with silent and unostentatious devotion to the cause of Education, have brought him recognition as one of the foremost educationists in India.

Our selection of President has been equally happy. Mr. Grigson has always exulted in intellectual activity, and his interests are so wide and varied as to range from prehistory and aboriginals to constitutional reforms and legal drafting. Despite being in charge of the three onerous portfolios of Revenue, Police and Supply, a well-guarded trade-secret enables him to read and write and study, and to combine the business of administration with the hobby of scholarship. Devoted to such stern mistresses as History, Archaeology and Anthropology, the aboriginals are his chief passion. They permit him in his moments of leisure, to indulge in the distraction of editing a new Gazetteer of Hyderabad and in the pleasures of compiling an anthology of Deccan History. The combination of

these interests with the work of administration is most welcome, for, while we do not want in our administrators the "sombre, reluctant judgements" of the historian, we do wish them to have the background for a "sufficient hesitation" between the hasty generalization of administrative necessity and the inconvenient conclusions of patient research.

The Hyderabad session of the Indian History Congress, presided over by one whom, along with Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, I welcome today as one of our Sectional Presidents, left a great legacy of enthusiasm. One association took the initiative of combining with some others to explore the possibility of inaugurating a Deccan History Conference on an all-India basis. The idea led to another, and some of us, among them my friend, Nawab Inayat Jung, and myself, thought that the holding of a Conference should be but one of the objects of a Deccan History Association which could meet more often than a conference convened once in two years. (When, two days hence, we set to work to discuss the prosaic but necessary business of rules, we hope to present you with the full picture of these twin infants whom it is desired, now that they are born, to clothe and nurture). We thus met and talked and wrote letters to great men and small, and, sustained by enthusiasm and hope, we proceeded to elect ourselves and select others, to organize and invite, believing that money would be found and that necessity would be its mother. There was method in that madness; money came from large hearts, members enrolled themselves, outside scholars wrote encouragingly and have now come. Our Sectional Presidents accepted the invitations extended to them, Mr. Grigson agreed to preside, Sir Mahdi Yar Jung accepted the invitation to inaugurate the Conference, and the grim walls of financial and other "sanctions" crumbled at the touch of His Exalted Highness' patronage. That is how we come to be here today and I welcome you all and specially those who have had to undertake the inconvenience of a long journey.

As His Exalted Highness has been pleased to remark, the history of the Deccan is, in miniature, the history of India. It mirrors all the great reflexes of Indian History and throws its own reflection back on that larger screen. Within the wider perspective, therefore, of Indian History, there is ample scope for a more microscopic study of the history of the region which is called the "Deccan," if only because of its peculiarities, its self-contained fullness and variety, and the rich traditions of its many races. Separateness in the midst of geographical unity, isolation in the midst of invasion, such have been its characteristics. The resistance of the south to northern pressure provides an instance of the centrifugal forces which baffled successive efforts to establish one

and the same rule over the length and breadth of India, and, even after its conquest by the Moghuls, the spirit of revolt reasserted itself in Hyderabad. Riding almost astride the peninsula, the Deccan has even otherwise played a decisive part in different periods in the history of India, and perhaps at no time a more significant role, from the point of view of the present day, than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was here that the French lost the battle for empire. It was here again that the earlier British experiments made in Oudh were perfected in the shape of the first subsidiary treaty with Hyderabad which came to be applied, in its fundamentals, to the States-system of India. The march of British supremacy in India was over the long and dusty road that led to Seringapatam, and from thence to Poona and Nagpur. Finally, it was in the Deccan that the torrents of the Mutiny spent their force.

It is appropriate that the first session of this Conference should take place not only in the capital of these Dominions, which occupy a large part of the Deccan, but also within the precincts of this spacious University which has made special efforts to promote the study of Deccan History by the inclusion of a separate paper on the subject in the curriculum for its History School and has now proposed the establishment of a Deccan History Museum and the inclusion of Archaeology, with special reference to these Dominions, in the course prescribed for its degree in History. A School of Social Sciences may also be started which will include the subject of cultural Anthropology, and the idea is Mr. Grigson's that the course should cover field-work among the aboriginals in the State, thus providing valuable training for personnel which could usefully be employed for work among the aboriginals and, even otherwise, for social service. The scheme for a comprehensive History of the Deccan has progressed satisfactorily, and the first volume on the ancient period is nearing completion under the editorship of Mr. Yazdani, whose individual work in the State may, with an apt reference to his service to Archaeology, be truly described as "monumental." A scheme of preservation of prehistoric sites has been undertaken by the Archaeological Department, to which has recently been attached an Advisory Board, on lines similar to the Board established by the Government of India, with the object of co-ordinating the efforts of that Department, the University and other learned bodies and individuals in all the wide and various fields of Archaeology. Plans for future expansion include the creation of local museums in historic towns like Bidar and on excavation sites, which will carry the intrests of History and the historical perspective to the people in the districts. Substantial work has already been done in the field of Telugu and Muslim Epigraphy in the State; endeavours are now being made to

concentrate on the wealth of Kanarese inscriptions. A Historian is being appointed in the Dafter-e-Divani to undertake, under the guidance of a Standing Committee, the work of preservation, classification, editing and publication of historical records. In that store-house of nearly twenty million records, the arduous task of classification and card-indexing has already begun, and a start has been made in the direction of "calendaring" the Persian documents of Shah Jehan's period and about a hundred thousand of the Marathi decuments. Dr. Yousuf Husain Khan is to be thanked for having undertaken the first, and that doyen of Maratha history, Mr. Sardesai, for the help he has given and is continuing to give with regard to the second. If Government agree, we may soon have a Hyderabad Historical Records Commission, with branches in the districts to undertake regional surveys. The recent decision, at the instance of the Standing Committee of the Daftar-e-Divani, to transfer all pre-1900 records from the different Secretariats to that office, will serve to centralize the older records and to ensure their proper classification and preservation. Among these records may eventually be found—as I did find in the case of the Home Secretariat Records—some at least which fill gaps of information relating to important chapters of the State's history. The discovery of firmans of Shah Jehan and of Asaf Jah the First in that Secretariat, and the vandalism of marking certain files for destruction which were found to be of considerable historical value, have led to a proposed revision of the current rules for destruction of papers, and, so far as Secretariat recods are concerned, it has been decided, once a file or paper is marked for destruction, to entrust the task of destruction itself to the Dafter-e-Divani, thus enabling a process of ultimate checking from the historical point of view. Attempts to reorganize the Archaeological Department and the Daftar-e-Divani have led to the conclusion that the services in those Departments require being clasified separately for administrative and for technical purposes, the qualifications for the latter to be laid down in the light of the historical and other technical requirements of those Departments. For, it is not sufficient to get work done by direction, just as it is not enough merely to produce books; qualified hands are required at the base, if the work is to be of the required standard and if it is to be conducted otherwise than as routine. It is to the credit of His Exalted Highness' Government that, despite the booming of the guns across Europe and the Pacific, it has encouraged these and other cultural activities by a process of thoughtful and happy extravagance.

It occurs to me that in this brief summary of the work undertaken for the past two years or so, nothing has been said—and nothing has as a matter of fact, been done—regarding the

economic aspects of Deccan History. No "people's history" can be complete which does not take into account the economic conditions prevailing at defferent times, and even a disbeliever in the materialistic interpretation of history will not deny the importance of economic factors in the shaping of the life and history of a human community. I address this suggestion particularly to the historians in this University and with special reference to the history of the Deccan.

No research is easy, least of all research in history. In an arena in which facts change their own values and new truths begin to trespass upon the sanctuary of previous convictions, the worker in historical research is faced with constant examination and the need for a mind as open as the skies. His way leads through many woods and rocks and desert, and modern methods, in the endeavour to systematise the sifting of facts, impose upon him the duty of determining and distinguishing between the reliable and the unreliable source—a dry and relentless task, yet one which has to be undertaken if he is to have safe conduct in the journey down the ages. For, unless the comparative worth and value of a fact, a reported incident, a description or a statement are tested on the thousand and one touchstones which determine the worth and value of the reporter or chronicler himself, how will he assess the truth? What follows is of the historian's own making, just as two different persons may draw two different conclusions from the same statistics, and it is well understood that a historian is licensed to have his own whims. But the perspective created by research under a certain training of the mind tends to disallow digressions into pure fantasy and sets storey upon storey of facts to rebut subjective conclusions arrived at before the trial began. What matters, therefore, is the raw material, so to speak, which goes to make the manufactured or finished product. The Association and the Conference would do well to make a beginning by bringing several heads together to determine the raw material of Deccan History, and to distinguish, weigh and strain the alloy. The rest resolves itself into a question of the equipment provided in the factory and the quality of the worker.

What we must, in brief, insist on, adhering to the same metaphor, is a high standard of production; in other words, we must desist from the glorification of a pamphlet into a thesis. Otherwise, the factory of our Universities is not required, and history will continue to be served by those *nouveaux riches* of historians who flaunt their single diamonds of so-called historical facts on their middle finger. The basic plea is that we want historians, both amateur and professional, but not historical journalists.

What is the place of a University in such studies and researches? The answer is obvious; it is in the Universities that our

future historians, archaeologists and anthropologists are made. With its function of dispassionate study, its duty of sifting the truth, its business of learning and unlearning, a University has to be a universe in itself, and universal in its conception. It must accommodate different schools of thought and opposite points of view, just as the larger world outside provides asylum for widely divergent ideals. "It is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate sure to find its equal in some antagonistic activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth. It is a place where enquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge" (Newman). It is thus in a University that research, whether in the field of science or history, finds its proper habitation and home, and perhaps no house of learning can better accommodate researches into the history of the Deccan than the Osmania University.

One word more : We are not gathered to inculcate parochialism or to forget our sense of proportion or perspective. The Deccan is larger than these Dominions, and is again part of a wider entity. In undertaking the microscopic study of the part, let us not forget the whole, or fail to distinguish the wood from the trees. It was not the intention of those who first conceived the idea of this Conference and Association to be the Maginots of the historical front, endeavouring to create a ring-fence of history south of the waters of the Narbada. Far less was it their intention to raise mud-walls within their own domain of the Deccan. They believe, on the contrary, in a more proper, deeper integration of the history of the Deccan with the history of India. If we are to be guilty at all of lack of proportion, let us be guilty in the opposite sense; let us cross the Narbada, and, like the Ceylonese who claimed that India was included in Ceylon, let us lay claim to India and extend, in a spirit of conquest, the historical frontiers of the Deccan to the natural frontiers of India.

Presidential Address

By

The Hon'ble Mr. W. V. Grigson, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Revenue, Police and Supply Member,

H.E.H. the Nizam's Government

Hyderabad (Dn).

NAWAB SIR MAHDI YAR JUNG BAHADUR,
MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, SECTIONAL
PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I count it a singular privilege to be the General President of this Inaugural meeting of this All-India Deccan History Conference, a privilege however for which I feel myself quite unqualified; for all the words used of me by Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur (whom I am sure you would like me to congratulate on behalf of the Conference on his accession to the great and responsible position of Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University) cannot conceal the fact that so far as I have an interest in history and even in anthropology, it is the interest of an amateur; and for an amateur to preside over a conference of professional historians is a presumption which I hope may be pardoned. I have not even had, for my excursions into the fields of anthropology and history, the excuse of the grounding of academic discipline, save in so far as a traditional classical education, somewhat interrupted by the last war, opened my eyes through the study of Greek and Roman civilization to a wider interest in the study of Man. Perhaps too something in what Matthew Arnold in those well-known words of his about Oxford spoke of as "the whispering from her towers of the last enchantments of the Middle Age" has always sustained in me a deep and fascinated interest in the past of all countries, particularly of England and India.

The last sentence might justify an accusation of being attracted by the romantic and not the severely factual, scientific and economic side of history. To be thus attracted may also be another mark of the amateur. But is it the worse for that? Has not the history of every country that is so fortunate (despite Carlyle) as *not* to be one

of the peoples "whose annals are blank in history-books," enough of the elements of high romance to fire the imagination, quicken the pulse and stimulate endeavour? And what are the histories that are read and re-read by wide audiences? Are they the dry-as-dust chronicles of events, or learned disquisitions on political and economic tendencies, or the works that appeal to the imagination, to the romantic imagination? To think of history in terms of romance is at least better than to think of it in the many other terms that have been applied to it, whether "a pack of lies" in the view attributed to Kingsley in William Stubbs' epigram, or "bunk" in the contemptuous evidence of a certain trans-Atlantic billionaire, or, in the soberer words of Carlyle, the "essence of innumerable biographies" or "a distillation of rumours."

But it is a fact that too much of the early work on the history and the anthropology of India has been done by amateurs, members often of my own or other civil or military services, whether in the form of monographs on tribes or local history, or serious historical studies, or of articles in such compilations as the Imperial and District Gazetteers. How great a thing therefore it is to see a modern generation of trained Indian scholars taking up the work of detailed, scientific, ethnographic and historical research and publication within their own country! Yet even now it is far too often impossible for a traveller or a sojourner in a specific part of India to get into his hands a compact and readable—I would emphasise the word readable—account of the local history. How lacking in India are local histories and local studies! Even this Conference sets before it primarily the studies of an enormous region, the Deccan, or India south of the Narbada. If the term "Deccan" be restricted to the country which passed under Muslim rule from the days of 'Ala-ud-Din Khilji until the fall of the Mughal Empire, even then the region remains enormous, and calls for a vast degree of specialisation and for the stimulation of local patriotism and local pride into the recording of the history of each locality.

The Vice-Chancellor has alluded to our endeavours to produce a completely new revision of the Hyderabad Gazetteer. In this we are carrying on the tradition of those many British Indian pioneers —amateurs if you like—from Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Charles Grant, Sir Willian Hunter onwards, and trying to give the people of Hyderabad a succinct and up to-date account of the past and present of their State. Hyderabad is unfortunate in that, apart from one excellent volume on Aurangabad District written as long ago as 1884, there are no district gazetteers of the State. Though such gazetteers exist for all the provinces of British India and for many of the States, they are now nearly all regrettably and hopelessly out of date in regard not only to modern conditions but also to recent advances in historical, archaeological and ethnographic research. (The Mysore Government of course set the rest of India a good

example by their 1930 production of an eight-volume State Gazetteer). Immense strides have been made by Indian History in the past forty years, and it is therefore the more regrettable that so many writers, particularly young writers and writers of thesis for university degrees, continue uncritically to use the historical articles contained in out-of-date gazetteers as authorities, neglecting not only the results of recent research, but also often the works of earlier Muslim historians and modern commentaries upon them. Possibly therefore we have not been altogether unfortunate in having had no early district gazetteers of this State. We should now hope to see this work of dealing with the past and present of our districts, our *Samasthans* and other estates taken up in a scientific and realistic manner by teams of scholars from the Osmania University and the Nizam College. Such local professional talent has in fact been pressed into the service of the new State Gazetteer, but we still continue, and must continue, to draw upon the administrator and the district officer for descriptive accounts and modern statistics.

Yet all things considered, the debt of history, archaeology, ethnography, exploration, linguistics and other sciences in India to the amateur in the services of the Crown or of the Indian State is a great debt, and a source of pride to anyone who may have continued in any degree the work of that long line of predecessors, even if he can now be strong in the assurance that they are at last so largely replaced by the professional scholar.

Who, nevertheless, professional or amateur, living or serving in this country of the Deccan could fail to be inspired by the great and romantic story of her past? Each district of this State has its history and traditions, of which living testimony is afforded by historic temples, mosques and lakes or fortress-crowned hill-tops, while stone artifacts in abundance, stone-circles, rock-shelters (sometimes still inhabited), stone-alignments, menhirs, tumuli and cairns in many districts provide yet older links with the forgotten eras of prehistory. The Vice-Chancellor spoke of some "well-guarded trade secret" of mine enabling me to combine the business of an administrator with the study of history, archaeology and anthropology. But I maintain that to go about the Deccan blind to its past and to its fascinating present survivals would be to lose most of what can keep life worth living, work worth doing and the future worthy of hope and endeavour. Who can see the splendour of the golden evening falling on the castle walls of Golkonda without longing to repicture the past of that great city? He can see perhaps, with the eyes of the Dutchman Anthony Schorer, the King of Golkonda in the opening years of the seventeenth century emerging in state from his palace, followed by a vast crowd of retainers and nobles, some on horseback and some in palanquins, into what an

auction sale of the property of a retiring Englishman, during which the floor gave way with a crash in the middle of the bidding for a double-barrelled gun, and he was precipitated down to the groud-floor with the crowd of bidders and beer, china and tables on his head. There are famous passages in Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* describing a first view of Hyderabad in 1837 with its white-terraced houses gleaming brightly in the sunlight beyond the river amidst what seemed from the distance to be a forest of trees; the Charminar and the Mecca Masjid rising proudly from the surrounding masses of buildings, here and there white domes with bright gilt spires marking the tomb of some saint, and all around the slender white minarets of hundreds of smaller mosques; and the procession of the Nal Sahib during the Moharram festival of the same year. From more recent and more prosaic works such as the autobiography of Sir Richard Temple, the Journals of Lady Dufferin, Sir J.D. Rees' account of the Duke of Clarence's Tour in Southern India or Sir Michael O'Dwyer's reminiscences, the reader may get such sudden and unforgettable pictures of Hyderabad as Temple's visits to the Nizam and the Langar festival of 1867; the State Darbar and banquet, and sunset over Mir Alam's lake from the deck of a small steamer, during Lord Dufferin's visit to Hyderabad as Viceroy in 1886; the breakfast given to the royal duke by the late Sir Viqar-ul-Omra at the end of which all the guests were given large bulging buns; each bun when opened discharged a charming little wax-bill bird which flew upwards from its pastry prison and alighted chirping on the chandeliers; and O'Dwyer riding over the streets devastated by the great Musi flood of 1908. Even unexpectedly in so purely English a work as Parson Kilvert's Diary (1870-1879) comes a sudden allusion to Hyderabad in an account taken from a letter from his sister, Mrs. Wyndowe, of a journey upcountry from Bombay with her husband, their arrival at the Hyderabad Residency "in their bullock transits, their horses having jibbed and broken down" and a moment when the horses struck work in the midst of a violent midnight-thunder-storm, the pouring rain, the stifling heat of the carriage, the wailing hungry baby, the lightning-lit, barren, dreary landscape, and the motionless figures of the escort of Sowar horsemen.

It would be possible to go on for hours with similar pictures, not only of Hyderabad, but of all parts of the State. If you are touring in Aurangabad you may think of Pietro Della Valle's dark tale of the sorceries of Malik Ambar, the Habshi minister of the Nizam Shahi King of Ahmadnagar, who "to make prodigious buildings, and with good luck, that the same may last perpetually and succeed well" with "certain supersititions used in those Countries, committed most horrid impieties and cruelties, killing hundreds of his slaves, children and others and offering them as in

sacrifice to the invoked Devils"; of Tavernier seeing the great spans of oxen drawing the carts loaded with marble from Northern India for the building of the Bibi-ka-Maqbara tomb at Aurangabad of Aurangzeb's wife, Rabia Daurani; of Manucci watching Aurangzeb, old and feeble, carried with drums and music and propped up with cushions and by strong arms, through his evil-smelling camp, to reassure his half-mutinous troops that he was still alive; of Elphinstone at the battle of Assaye, galloping forward with General Wellesley, who afterwards became Duke of Wellington, to a line which opened fire on them as they approached, when ' "Somebody said, Sir, that is the enemy's line." The General said, "Is it? Ha, damme, so it is" (you know his manner) and turned'; of Wellesley passing that night in the village of Assaye ' "not in the pride, pomp and circumstances of glorious war" but on the ground, close to an officer whose leg was shot off and within five yards of a dead officer, while Elphinstone himself got as food and drink 'some curry and bloody water, which did not show at night, and lay down and slept without catching cold'; of the Frenchman Victor Jacquemont in 1832 on his way to die at Bombay passing through the district, but seeing Ajanta, Daulatabad, the caves of Ellora and the tomb of Aurangzeb, whom he describes as a very nasty fellow, but a very good king, because he made roads and sunk wells instead of building palaces, and lodging with Col. Seyer in Aurangabad and having his saddle-bags loaded by him with the most excellent of books. If you are in Raichur District at the fortress town of Mudgal, you will think of the battles between Vijayanagar and Bijapur for the hand of the goldsmith's beautiful daughter, of the Roman Catholic Mission there which was mentioned by Meadows Taylor and still exists on land granted 250 years ago by an 'Adil Shahi King, or of the long siege in 1791 of Kopbal Fort held by Tippu Sultan's men against the Nizam's forces and British artillerymen under Captain Andrew Read. Warangal, Nalgonda, the districts around Hyderabad and Jagtial and Nirmal recall memories of Raymond and other Frenchmen who at that time dreamed of setting back the clock against English progress in India. Along the old royal road from Masulipatam through Suriyapet and across Nalgonda District to Hayatnagar and Hyderabad you still can see the stone pillars that stood on either side of the old road (and sometimes flank the modern road) to mark each *kos* along the road, and can trace the former halting stages by the old *sarais* and mosques. At Warangal you can drink from a modern town water-supply piped from a tank built centuries ago by Hindu kings, and picture to yourself the desperate struggles of the Kakatiya kingdom to retain its independence; if your travels have taken you to Bastar State you may know the Bastar legend of Anand Deo, the brother of the last Kakatiya king, reaching the farther bank of the Godavari in his flight north and flinging the most coveted possession of the

Kakatiyas, the Philosopher's Stone, into the waters of the Godavari in the face of his Muslim pursuers, who thereupon abandoned the pursuit and were set by their commanders to dredge the river to recover the stone; once and once only the dredges touched the stone and were turned to gold, but the Stone lies for ever beneath the waters. In Adilabad District amongst the Gonds you can pass into a totally different world of Gond myth and legend, much of which is now being revealed to us by the forthcoming work on the Gonds of Adilabad by Baron Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

Today one may see the life of the past still being enacted. On my first tour in these Dominions I was lodged for two nights in the fort of Kalyani, once the capital of Chalukyan Kings, through the kindness of the Nawab of Kalyani, passing in our progress through the successive gates of the fort between rows of retainers dressed as they might have been centuries earlier, and listening through the darkness to the watches of the night being announced by music from the battlements. In the fort the Nawab Sahib showed us his collection of weapons, porcelain, celadon ware, a mediaeval Indian map of the world and old miniature paintings, including a miniature of Queen Chand Bibi among her warriors. In the palace of the Raja of Shorapur, built there for the last reigning Raja by Meadows Taylor, you may sit in a hall listening to the music of Kanarese stringed instruments, the walls hung with framed *sanads* of 'Adil Shahi kings and a grant made by Aurangzeb under his veritable Sign Manual, the imprint of the imperial hand. Recently in Hyderabad when hearing a royal grant succession appeal relating to another Bedar family, my colleague and I were confronted with an 'Adil Shahi Persian *sanad* issued by Shivaji's enemy, Afzal Khan, which had a flowery and ornately worded Persian preamble ending with words of which the literal translation is "at whose name even the Angels in Paradise cry aloud, Afzal, O Afzal !"

Lastly I must mention some practical aspects of the business of this Conference. Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur in his speech has envisaged the creation of a Hyderabad Historical Records Commission with branches in the districts to undertake regional surveys. How essential this is may be judged not only from such instances as those which I have just mentioned, but also from our knowledge of the valuable collections in the possession of many Hyderabad noblemen. Hyderabad also has several fine private libraries of mediaeval and later Persian and Urdu manuscripts and printed books, calling aloud for classification and publication. Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur has referred to the great *Daftar-i-Divani* collection, where of the 20,000,000 or more documents of all kinds only some 3,000,000 (including *atiyat* or Crown Grant succession

documents) were catalogued on the old unsatisfactory system and so far only 3,000 documents have been listed in a new card index There is immense work to be done, nor can it be said what discoveries will result. At present the annual budget of the *Daftar-i-Divani* is a bare 1 2/3 lakhs of rupees. We must clearly double or treble that expenditure and make it a real focus for historical studies in the Deccan.

If earlier in this address I referred rather disparagingly to learned disquisitions on economic tendencies, please do not envisage me as underestimating the value of studies of economics of the past; my plea is that they should be made readable, and I am deeply conscious of the need of a detailed economic history of the Deccan. For such studies too we have invaluable material in the *Daftar-i-Divani* in the form of old Persian records of revenue settlements and revenue-farming, and contemporary *nirkhnamas* of wages and prices, all calling for the patient work of the research scholar in history and economics, material in fact such as W H. Moreland would have considered as beyond value could he have had access to similar documents for his economic histories of Mughal India.

Mention of yet another field of research, to which the attention of scholars, and in particular of this Conference, must be invited, was foreshadowed by my remarks earlier on the folklore of the Gonds. In many villages around such historic centres as Golkonda, Warangal, Daulatabad, Aurangabad and Shorapur I believe there to be untapped stores of tales and ballads of the days of the past. Fact and fantasy may be so interwoven in this early literature as to make it difficult to distil factual history from it. But its systematic collection would throw great light upon what struck the villager's imagination in the past, his reaction to changes of dynasty, to invasion, and to disappearance of what seemed good to him. Some work of a similar nature is being done for Middle India by Dr. Verrier Elwin whose collections of what he calls "Specimens of the Oral Literature of Middle India" have led already to the publication by the Oxford University Press in Bombay of *The Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills* and *The Folk-Tales of Mahakoshal*, the first two of a projected series of seven or eight volumes. Haimendorf's researches in Adilabad have shown a wealth of similar material amongst our own Deccan tribes, some of which our Government have recently published, in the Gondi language and the Nagari script, as text-books for the new aboriginal schools in the Gond country. Systematic recording of such material has long been overdue in India. Few studies can foster so healthy a national pride. Great strides in this direction have been made in Europe, especially in the Scandinavian and Teutonic countries and in England and Ireland. Sweden was the pioneer, and work there was started on a system-

atic scale so long ago as May 1630 under the auspices of King Gustavus Adolphus II, who issued a programme of investigation touching most aspects of Swedish Culture :—

"runic stones and other remains; time reckoning; the traditional laws of crafts and parishes; legends, sagas, and ballads, with their accompanying melodies; the traditions of the nobility, clergy, officials, lawyers, townsmen, and farmers, both as orally transmitted and as recorded in letters, church archives, and libraries; customs surrounding land tenure; mining; house-keeping accounts, methods of fishing, hunting, cattle-breeding, and forestry; popular medicine and weather-lore; material culture, and the dialect terms for all objects; and, finally, the mental characteristics of the people of each district.'

That beginning has led ever since to sustained work in Sweden. And there are now in that comparatively small country 400 museums with collections illustrating local culture, and four institutes and archives of folklore. As a more recent example of Government action in another country may be mentioned the foundation in 1930 of the Irish Folklore Institute by the Irish Government and its subsequent development, as a result of representations made to President De Valera by a Swedish folklore scholar, into the Irish Folklore Commission, on a basis permitting nine full-time collectors, equipped with recording apparatus, to work in the field, supplemented by over 150 part-time collectors in different parts of the country. I would urge most strongly that our own University should be spurred by this Conference into considering similar work in the Deccan while there is yet time, before the standardization and proletarization of modern life have stilled the voice of the bard and the story-teller. I would also particularly stress the urgency in Hyderabad not only of folk museums in the life of her villages and tribal populations, but also, and above all, of a Hyderabad museum of Qutb Shahi and Mughal life, before a vast amount of material still in the hands of private owners disappears through the break-up of old families or under the auctioneer's hammer. If for this purpose the State were able to acquire one of the old palaces in the City or could be granted the use of one of the Golkonda palaces so that it could be furnished in contemporary style and could house collections of paintings, porcelain, objects of art, and manuscripts, it could be a great inspiration not only to scholars but also to the whole modern generation. I confidently look forward to an impetus to such work being given, not only by this great Osmania University under its Vice-Chancellor with his keen interest in all historical studies, not only by this Conference and by the permanent organization that we hope may result from it, but also by the projected School of Social Sciences and Anthropology to which Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur has referred, and above all by the munificence and patron-

age of the many noble and other collectors in Hyderabad. Here too opens out an immense field for the future employment of the trained graduates of our University and Colleges.

Great indeed is the stimulus to all such work that can be provided by a live and keen Deccan History Association focussed on Hyderabad with, as one of its chief functions, an Annual Conference such as the present. We have long had in Hyderabad a Historical and Archaeological Society, but its membership has been small and its meetings very infrequent. I should like to see this merged into the Deccan History Association, and that Association strengthening itself by local branches in all centres where there is a nascent interest in history and archaeology. We have naturally envisaged this Association as based upon Hyderabad and making use of the living traditions of this great inheritor of South Indian history and tradition. But we intend no parochial Hyderabadi view of Deccan History; we feel that the more we can bring together the work of all students of Deccan History the greater will have been our success in achieving the objects of the new Association. We hope in fact that this Association will create a nexus between our scholars and scholars in other parts of India and beyond India. We are also confident that the existence of such an Association, in the traditional centre of an area that has played and will continue to play so great a role in India's history, will effectively arouse and maintain popular interest in historical studies in general and Deccan History in particular. May this fellowship of All-India scholars also achieve, not only for the administrator, but also for the politician and the politically-minded citizen of Southern India, that appreciation of the historical background of our social, administrative and political problems, to the necessity of which His Exalted Highness referred in his gracious Message, and without which those problems can never find a satisfactory solution !

ANCIENT PERIOD

(UPTO 1294)

PRESIDENT :

DEWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DEWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
M.A., PH.D. (Hony).

IT is familiarly known that if I should address letters to Hyderabad by post, I shall have to address Hyderabad *Dakhan*. Of course, it is understood that this is merely to distinguish Hyderabad here from the Hyderabad in Sind. Perhaps it is not quite so easily understood why the *Dakhan* is so called. For a mere derivation, *Dakhan* is the Prakrit form, even modernised Prakrit, of the Sanskrit *Dakshiṇa*. *Dakshiṇa* means the right hand or right side, and derivatively the south. It is in this latter sense that it is used when we mark our letters Hyderabad *Dakhan*. The term actually occurs in the Veda itself. One of the hymns of the Rig Veda[1] contains the term *Dakshiṇāpada*. It occurs in a context referring to the place where one goes on being expelled. According to one school of interpretation this is held to mean the south. Whether that is so or no in Sanskrit literature with regard to the discussion of the Veda, the grammarian Panini [2] uses the term *Dākshiṇātya*, meaning an inhabitant of the south. The term *Dākshiṇāpatha* itself is used in the Baudhāyayana Sutra coupled with *Surashtra*. [3] Thereafter the term gets into frequent use and becomes more or less familier. Literally it would mean only the road to the right, or geographically, the road to the south; but in later usage, it is generally taken to mean more or less the region of the south, which would imply, if that was the earlier meaning, knowledge of the country beyond the Vindhyas and the Narmada. We have evidence of the earliest literature for this knowledge. For purposes of history, however, it may not be of very great value that literature should refer to *Dakshiṇāpatha* itself, or to any of the countries included in the region. We ought to have at any rate a chronological basis for it.

We may take the age of the Mahābhārata more or less as our starting point, because we have more or less definite statements that the time that expired from the installation of Parikshit to the reign of Mahāpadmananda is 1050 years. There is a variant reading 1015. We may for the moment neglect the difference of 25, and take it roughly as 1050. From the known date of Mahāpadmananda, who was in all probability ruling at the time when Alexander invaded India, this would give us for the installation of king Parikshit a date

1. X, 61, 8. 2. IX, 2, 98. 3. I, i, 29.

1050 plus, say, 330, 1380 B.C. According to the Mahābhārata itself, the Pandavas ruled for 28 years after the war. Adding this, we get to 1400 B.C. or a little earlier for the war itself. It is not a matter of importance as to what exactly was the precise date; say about 1400 B.C. would be the time of the great war. The name Parikshit and his son Janamejaya are names of frequent occurrence in Brahhmanical literature. Taking them as the starting point, we can group round them a certain number of well-known persons and facts to gain thereby a more or less correct chronological idea. One famous character in literature is the famous Janaka of Mithilā; but unfortunately for us, Janaka is a common family name for rulers of Mithila, and a number of Janakas ruled and passed away. We know of a Janaka who was contemporary with Yāgñavalkya. Just a few genetations after Janaka, the contemporary of Parikshit, the dynasty seems to have gone out of existence, and the territory till then known as the kingdom of Mithila came to be under the rule of an influential tribe of people known as the Lichchavis, with a government which was not exactly monarchical. We find this was the government at the time when the two religious teachers Buddha and Vardhamana, the founders of Buddhism and Jainism, lived and preached. Similarly a few generations, about five, after Janamejaya, the capital of the Pandavas, Hastināpura on the Ganges was washed away by the river, and a successor of Janamejaya removed himself from there and founded the kingdom of Kosāmbi, not far from Allahabad. The ruler of Kosāmbi by name Udayana followed immediately after the age of the Buddha, and was contemporary with the well-known ruler Ajātsatru and his son Darsaka. So it is possible to mark epochs of importance like this, and on the basis of these epochs we can form an idea of the kingdoms that existed in the *Dakhan*.

In the age of the Mahābhārata, the kingdom of Vidarbha south of the Vindhyas was a well-known kingdom. That was the home of Krishna's wife Rukmini, and in the story relating to the marriage of Krishna with this princess, figure a number of kingdoms relating to each other in that region. All these kingdoms played their part in the war of the Mahābhārata itself. One point that is of particular importance in connection with this we should know. Krishna's marriage with Rukmini took place against the wishes of the parents and her elder brother, who had arranged for her marriage with the contemporary Chedi ruler. Krishna therefore had to arrange to go and carry her away on the eve of the marriage, and marry her afterwards. When Krishna thus carried her off, a war ensued and the brother-in-law, who was very keen in getting his sister married to the Chedi king, and who did not like Krishna at all, went and fought against him, having sworn beforehand not to enter his father's capital if he should not recover his sister and get her married as he had arranged. Of course, he was defeated, and he kept his vow by

giving up his capital Kundinapura, and built for himself a new citadel outside the town and resided there afterwards when he succeeded his father Bhishmaka. This new capital became known as Bhojakataka, what is referred to as Bhojakata in historical times. We shall come to that later.

Another well-known ruler of Vidarbha is called Bhima. He had his capital in the same place, Kundinapura. He had one daughter and three sons. The Daughter was called Damayanti. The marriage of Damayanti with the ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Nishāda by name Nala forms an important episode in the Mahābhārata, and the story of Nala and Damayanti has become so popular that there are many variants of the story incorporated in literature. This Bhima was known to the Aitareya Brāhmana, where he is referred to as a contemporary of two rishis, Parvata and Nārada, and a number of rulers Somaka, son of Sahadeva, Sahadeva son of Srinjaya, Bābhrava son of Devavvriddha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhara. Another contemporary of this Nagnajit of Gandhara was Nami or Nimi of Mithila. It is under Nami's successor that the Mithila kingdom came to an end, and possibly the rule of the Lichchavis began. So the time of Bhima of Vidarbha would be just about the time when the kingdom of Mithila went out of existence as a kingdom. This would be some five or six generations after Janamejaya. In the story of Nala and Damayanti, as it is recited in the Mahābhārata, [4] there is one important geographical detail which must be noted. In the course of the story when the husband and the wife were on their way into the forests after losing kingdom and all in the game at dice, Nala indicates to Damayanti casually the road to Vidarbha, her father's kingdom. Nala was the king of the Nishadas, generally described in the Puranas and the Mahabharata as a Vindhyan tribe. The exact location of his kingdom is a matter of doubt, although that it was somewhere about the Vindhyan region is clear. Having been some days on his journey from his capital, he indicated the road by pointing out "this is the road that, passing across Avanti and the mountain Rikshavat, leads on to *Dakshiṇāpatha;*" and he further indicated from where he spoke, by pointing to the Vindhya mountains and the river Payoshni reaching the sea, the branching of roads. He pointed out to one, perhaps the nearer one, as leading to Vidarbha, and the other one passing on to Kosala. He followed it up by the statement that beyond these lies *Dakshinapatha.* The points that we are to note here are that Nala was speaking apparently from the southern side of the Vindhyas. The road that he indicated took people through the kingdom of Avanti, passed the mountain Rikshavat and the river Payoshni, probably the Narmada, then it branches off, one going straight to Vidarbha, and the other to Kosala. Vidarbha is an indefinite country, but the modern equivalent Berar may not be

4. III, Chapters 49 ff.

wrong, as at any rate the capital was situated within the boundaries of Berar. Kosala is a very extensive tract and the reference here is to the portion called Mahakosala, the middle region extending over the whole of the Central Provinces and including even some portion of Central India called by the name Dasārna separately, the capital of which was Vidisa, in Eastern Malva in later history. He pointed out that the country further south of these was *Dakshiṇāpatha.* He called it actually the country of *Dakshiṇāpatha,* and we come to gain a rather clear idea of what was understood by the term *Dakshiṇā-patha* at the time when this was written. This would correspond in a general way to the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam now, and the neighbouring parts of Bombay.

Passing down the stream of time, we come to another land-mark where this part of the country is under reference; in a Jataka story of the Buddha called Śarabhanga Jataka,[5] this part of the country comes under reference. Here the Buddha in his previous birth as "Sarabhanga" was living on the banks of the Godavari at a place called Kavittha (Kapittha) forests. In the course of his residence, the hermitage getting too crowded, he sent out a number of disciples, each one with his own following to the neighbouring regions. Among them one called Kisavaccha took his residence in the kingdom of Dandaki in the outskirts of the capital Kumbhavati as it is called. There he gets ill-treated by chance, and in consequence the kingdom gets destroyed and reduced to a sandy waste for a circuit of 60 leagues (*yojanas.*) This accounts for the name Dandakārṇaya given to it ever afterwards. There are two points of importance to be noted along with this. One of his disciples was asked by the Buddha (Śarabhanga) to go and settle down near Lambacūlaka in what was the province of king Chanda Pajjota. That merely indicates that he had to go and settle in what was the kingdom of Chanda Pajjota, all that was Avanti or Malva. When this destruction of Dandakā kingdom took place, three kings of subordinate kingdoms felt concerned about this transformation. These are said to have come and asked Sarabhanga as to why this took place, quoting other three instances where kings came to similar grief by ill-treatment accorded to holy men, as in this case. The three kings referred to are Kalinga, Atthaka and Bhimaratha. Of these the first two are probably names of the country. The third Bhimaratha seems to be the name of the king. We cannot say whether he is the Bhima, the father of Damayanti, as no details that are associated with him give the colour that this story actually implies.

According to the Ramayana[6] story, Danda or Dandaka was the last son of Yayāti. Finding him ill-cultured, the father allotted to him for his share a kingdom between the Vindhyas and Saivala mountains. Dandaka made Usanas (Sukrāchārya) his *Guru;* and

5. Jataka, No. 522, Vol. V: Cowell and Francis.
6. VII, Chapters 78 ff.

resided in his capital Madhuman over a prosperous and well-peopled kingdom. His want of culture showed itself at the sight of the daughter of Sukra in the gardens round her father's hermitage, and fell in love with her at sight. When he approached her and made his overtures to her, she pointed out the unkingly character of the proposal, and asked the king in turn to apply to her father for her hand, and indicated that the father might consent to bestow her in marriage on him. Being too impatient, he then and there ravished her, and when that was understood by the father, he cursed the unworthy king, and the whole place became, for a distance of sixty leagues (*yojanas*), a desert. That, according to the story, is how the place became deserted. Usanas himself and all the people removed from the kingdom, and the borderland where they settled down came to be known as *Janasthāna.* We know from other references in the Ramayana that *Janasthāna* was a region in the upper reaches of the Godavari nearer her sources in the mountains, and the coast region set over against it is also, in a peculiar way, associated with the name of Rishi Usanas and the Bhārgavas (descendants of Rishi Bhrigu.)

It is a large question as to which is the original story and which the modification, as between the Brahmanical account and the Buddhistic. We need not pause to inquire into that here. It seems likely that the Jataka story simply took up the tradition connected with Dandakaranya just as it was prevalent at the time, and modified it to suit the purpose of the Jataka tale. So far as the version of it incorporated in the Sarabhanga Jataka itself is concerned, there are features in the Jataka which seem altogether borrowed, probably from the Brahmanical sources. We shall not labour the point any further, excepting to note that the region became a desert and perhaps subsequently overgrown with forests, and remained such from a comparatively early time. If, as the story of the Ramayana has it, it went back to the days of Yayāti himself, it remained so up to well within historical times, as we shall see presently. According to the Ramayana, Rama met Sarabhanga on the banks of the Godavari and on the outskirts of the forest. Just before Rama visited Sarabhanga, Indra came and paid him a visit and extended an invitation to him as the time had approached for him to leave the world. Soon after Rama's visit, Rishi Sarabhanga actually gave up life and went to heaven. It is clearly said that it was just on the outskirts of the forest. It is under direction from Sarabhanga that Rama travelled up the Godavari to settle down in the place *Janasthāna,* the actual spot being Panchavati, which is indentified with Nasik. The actual Dandakārnya therefore must have begun from the Godavari and extended southwards indefinitely if these authorities alone were our only source.

Passing on next, we may note what is said of the southern kingdom of Vidarbha in Kalidasa's drama, Malavikagnimitra. The

sene of the drama is laid at the headquarters of the viceroyalty of Malva where ruled Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, who usurped the empire of Magadha after putting to death its last ruler, Brihadratha. In the course of the story the heroine, a princess of Vidarbha, comes to the court as a fugitive, remains incognito for a long time, gets known ultimately and is married to no less a person than Agnimitra himself. The princess along with her brother had become exiles from the kingdom because of a war of succession. The settlement dictated by the victorious viceroy Agnimitra was that the kingdom should be divided between the two collateral claimants, and Yagnasena and Madhavasena should be appointed over the two respectively. Then follows the interesting settlement that the friendly Madhavasena, the brother of the princess was to be installed in that part of Vidarbha nearer to Malva, and the less friendly Yagnasena in the more distant portion, in accordance with the dictates of authorities in the Arthasastra, and the river Varada is indicated as marking the boundary between the two kingdoms. There again Vidarbha is the name of the kingdom. We have no indication as to the exact size of it at the time; and if we could presume what is stated in the Buddhist Jataka referred to already, we may have to take it that the Nizam's Dominions went into Vidarbha. It may have been included in both the parts or only in that of Yagnasena.

We have other sources of information, from which it is possible for us to mark the southern boundary more precisely. In the Tamil classics, reference is made to the Dandakāranya. The actual context in which the reference is made is in connection with some of the rulers of the western portion of Tamil India, the country along the Arabian Sea coast. Describing a chieftain by name Nannan, some of these poems say that his territory lay to the northward of the Chera kingdom proper, along the coast with a capital not far from Cannanore, called by a name equivalent to *Saptasaila* (*Elil-Kunram*). the "hill of seven households." This is a place somewhere about 18 miles north-east of Cannanore. This territory took into it the Tulu country specifically (South Kanara), and farther north of this lay the land of Konkan, called in Tamil Konkanam (Tamil *Kol-Kānam*), the forest region wherein it is open to anybody to take whatever he liked, as its literal meaning. Undoubtedly this is what has come to be known as Konkan, which has been modified by the Sanskritists to suit the requirements of the language, into Konkanam. The whole kingdom of this chief Nannan is sometimes described as Konkanam, and in one place and by the early poets, it is described as gold producing country, the mountains wherein showing gold veins. The chieftain is described as one very wealthy, and holding in his treasury even some statues of gold. Beyond this lay what is called Dandaranyam in Tamil, which is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Dandaka*, the affix *ka* in Sanskrit being a mere meaningless affix, which the Sanskritists called *svārthe*, that is, the

addition of which does not alter the meaning of the word. So Danda and Dandaka are synonymcus, and what is referred to as Dandaranyam in Tamil is what is known generally among Sanskritists as *Dandakāranyam.*

The period in which this chief flourished is referable to the early centuries of the Christian era, and the reference itself may be regarded as historical in point of character. That it is so, is confirmed from the following extract from the Periplus, the long book of Greek navigator of the first century A. D. The date generally given is A. D. 78-80; "Beyond Baryagaza, the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south, and so this region included Dachinabades for Dachanos in the language of the south means south. The inland country back from the coast towards the sea comprised many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents hyenas and baboons of many sorts, and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges." Having said that, he proceeds further; "Among the market towns of Dachinabades, there are two of special importance. Paithana, distant about 20 days' jounery from Baryagaza, (Broach, from Sanskrit Brigukaccha); beyond which about ten days, journery east, there is another very great city Tagara. There are brought down to Baryagaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paithan carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of miscellaneous and muslin cloth, and other merchandise bought there locally from the regions along the sea coast and the whole course to the end of Dimirica is 7,000 stadia. But the distance is greater to the coast country."

We need not go further except to note that in this description we find the coast region well-peopled and prosperous, the interior being in a comparatively wild state as yet. Again along the western borderland of the plateau, there were places of commercial importance, such as Paithan on the Godavari, and Tagara to the south-east of it on the borderland of hills close to the western border of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, as places from which quantities of goods were brought to Broach. The articles referred to as coming from Tagara are articles some of which at any rate must have come from the farther east, as far east as the coast itself. The country round Masulipatam was always noted for muslins of various kinds produced in the locality. This part of it is confirmed by the inscriptions of the early Andhras, which show a brisk commercial communication between the east and the west, as far east as Dhanyakataka in the Guntur District, and their eastern and main capital, along the road to Paithan, their western capital, and other provincial capitals in that particular region. While the country therefore had the reputation of being a forest country, not altogether uninhabited perhaps, but much overrun by forests, still

there was communication between the east coast and the west through this forest country in the middle. Up till then, we may therefore take it that the conntry under the rule of His Exalted Highness was more or less a forest country with border regions, not merely agriculturally fertile, but even industrially prosperous. The traditional history of the land therefore shows that this part of the plateau of the Dakhan was without much of a history of its own.

Turning to really historical sources, we have to go back to the Mauryan period for the beginning of the history of the Nizam's Dominions. There again the first landmark is what we find stated in the Asoka inscriptions. Rock Edicts, Nos. 2, 5 and 13 make references to the empire of Asoka and his neighbours. The Dakhan part is clearly referred to as under the empire, and it is only the states of the farther south that are referred to as among the borderland of the neighbouring states. These states are put on a footing with those of the Greek states in the west 6000 *yojanas* away. Asoka was himself viceroy of Malva with Ujjain for his capital, and the territory under the direct authority of the Mauryan empire certainly did extend to the Vindhyas under Chandragupta. Among the southern states, these Edicts mention, Rishtikas, and Pitenikas, the Andhras, Pulindas and Savaras among the peoples under the authority of the empire. That statement coupled with what the self-same records say of the war against Kalinga being the only war of Asoka, leaves us in little doubt that the rest of the territory between the Vindhyas and the southern borders must have been conquered before the days of Asoka. The only point in doubt is whether Chandragupta did it or his son Bindusara. It is a late Tibetan source that ascribes the conquest to Bindusara and Chanakya. That perhaps is possible, but would not make it positive that Chandragupta's authority did not extend into the Dakhan. Anyhow it is clear that Asoka's empire actually extended to the northern border of the present-day Mysore extending eastwards and westwards to the coast, Kaliyanpuri river in South Kanara marking the limits near the west coast, and perhaps the northern Pennar along the line of Nellore similarly marking the eastern border. There are edicts of Asoka in the north-eastern corner of the Chitaldurga District, three such edicts near each other being known as Brahmagiri, Siddhapura, and Jatangi Ramesvara Hill. Since then another of his rock Edicts has been discovered at Maski in the Nizam's Dominions, the south-western part of it, and quite recently another at Gooti. Since we find these edicts only along the borders of the empire in other cases, we may presume that these were placed in the various localities, again to mark the border. That agrees very well with the conclusion we have come to inferentially from the statements in the edicts.

One question, however, would arise from out of this that relates to the whole of the Dakhan, and does not indicate clearly the part that the Nizam's Dominions played in the matter. The discovery of Asoka's edicts in Sopara, in the island of Bassein near Bombay, led to the inference that the southern viceroyalty of Svarnagiri must be looked for somewhere along the west coast. This has since been made unlikely by the discovery of the edict at Maski in a region where there is a place which might be regarded as the equivalent of Svarnagiri, and where there is evidence of considerable gold-working from very ancient times. Kanakagiri only two marches from the ruins of Hampi in Vijayanagar seems the place indicated. The edicts in Mysore were all addressed from the viceregal headquarters at Svarnagiri to a subordinate government called in Pali, Isila. Recent excavations seem to show Asokan remains not very far off, and this ultimately may turn out to be the headquarters of the smaller division, although the name Isila yet remains to be properly equated. This makes a part of the Nizam's Dominions, at any rate, a flourishing and populous centre even the headquarters of a viceroyalty.

The coming of the Andhra dynasty into power brings the Nizam's Dominions definitely into history. The western capital of the Andhra empire was at Paithan on the Godavari, a town in the Nizam's Dominions. It finds contemporary reference in the log book of the Greek sailor, the author of the Periplus, as an emporium together with another town Tagara, identified with Ter which is again in the Nizam's Dominions. The great trunk road from the District of Guntur, reaching the coast, to Masulipatam at the mouth of the Krishna, threaded its way through the Nizam's Dominions, rather perhaps more to the south than in more recent times when the roadway between Masulipatam and Surat actually passed through the town of Hyderabad. The references in the Puranas and in the Tamil classics would perhaps make a part of the country forest, and considerable portions of it must have been brought into civilisation, and must have thriven prosperously to justify the statements regarding commercial products coming from the interior. In the first two centuries of the Christian era therefore the Nizam's Dominions constituted perhaps the principal block of territory in the Andhra empire.

When that empire passed out of existence and broke up into a large number of smaller territorial divisions, the part called now-a-days the Nizam's Dominions does not actually figure as any one division. But the dynasty that sprang into importance from out of this period of confusion is the dynasty of the Vākātakas. Our ideas are not quite clear in respect of the origin of this dynasty. When it first comes into light, it is described as a Vindhyan power, associated early with Bhojakata, which is only another form of Bhojakataka, as its capital. Bhojakataka and the more ancient city Kundinapura-

the capital of Vidarbha, have both been identified with ruins not far from Amravati in Berar. If that was the homeland of the founder, Vindhyasakti, his successor extended the territory far and wide. But the Puranic references as to this expansion give us details only in reference to the northward expansion. There is no specific indication of any place in the southward expansion of this power under this great ruler, Pravarasena. With his death the empire suffered, and revived in a comparatively small way under his grandson Rudrasena. His son and successor Prithivisena I was a great ruler, who extended the authority of the Vākātakas rather widely, and what is to our purpose, among the kingdoms included in his territory figures the state of Kuntala.

Kuntala is what is later described as Karnātaka, and must have occupied a considerable part of the territory of the Nizam's Dominions. Although the Vakātaka capital was in the Berars, under the successors following Prithivisena, the rulers get to be described as rulers of Kuntala, which would make them actually rulers of territory comprising within it the bulk of the Nizam's Dominions. Where we are able to trace actually the existence of territory under their control, we find the territory take in practially all of the Nizam's Dominions. Their feudatories, the Vishnukundins, held power in Vengi, and they could not have been feudatory to the Vākātakas unless the intervening territory also belonged to them. The dynasty of the Vakatakas therefore held sway over practically the whole of the Nizam's Dominions, and can be regarded as a Dakhan power. In the best period of Vākātaka rule therefore extending from the days of Prithivisena I to Pravarasena II, the Vākātakas may be regarded as a Dakhan power and as such essentially a state more or less corresponding to the Nizam's Dominions of to-day. At the outset of this power, the Samudragupta invasion swept like a wave along the east coast almost down to the region of Kanchi, and turned back from there towards the west, avoiding the block of territory comprised within the Nizam's Dominions of to-day. There could be only two inferences that could be drawn from the account of this invasion, and that is, that either the territory was under a ruler in alliance with Samudragupta, or that it still continued to be the desert tract of Dandakāranya, in a sense taken perhaps more literally than it ought to be for the period. The second inference is hardly possible at the time; and the positive statement in the Ajanta Cave Inscription that Prithivisena extended his authority over Kuntala, and the literary references to Pravarasena II as a Kuntala ruler, seem quite decisive in favour of the first.

As far as research work has gone at present, we seem to pass imperceptibly from the Vākātaka dominance over the Dakhan into that of Chalukyas. But then in Indian History these chances never came without a transition, and the transition is usually of the character of a reduction of the territory of a dominant power into its units

generally in the shape of component kingdoms or chieftaincies. Between the two great kingdoms or empires, we always find these smaller states rapidly forming, and then reforming into an empire. This alternate union and break up of petty kingdoms, strikes a general historian as the rise and fall of dynasties, or dynastic powers. The territory comprised within the Nizam's Dominions seem to have been divided among three powers, it may be more, when the Chalukyas came into importance. The Kadambas in the south and south-west taking into their territory perhaps what was known as Kuntala or the best part of it, or more correctly recovering lost territory by a revival of their power. The farther north, the coast region, seems to have gone into the possession of the Mauryas with their capital at Sopara in northern Konkan. How far it actually extended into the interior we cannot say precisely, but we may be sure that a part of the present-day Nizam's Dominions was included in it. The greater part of the rest, particularly on the western and south-western side went into the territory of the Nalas, another tribe which figured among the early conquests of the Chalukyas. Over this transition comes into prominence the Chalukya power, and the establishment of the Chalukyas into a position of predominance takes two or three generations of work for its actual achievement. The early Chalukyas were a power which certainly held the territory of the Nizam's Dominions of the present-day at least the greatar part of it, but we cannot regard it as a kingdom corresponding to the present-day Nizam's Dominions, as their capital lay outside, and with it the centre of power also may be said to have been rather more in the Southern Mahratta country in the Bombay Presidency than in the Nizam's Dominions. But this may be said in regard to them. They come into notice in that part of the Nizam's Dominions, in which an early dynasty recently brought to light by discoveries in Nagarjunikonda is said to have ruled. Nagarjunikonda was a place not far from the south-eastern frontier of the Nizam's Dominions. The block of territory extending northwards from the river Krishna and taking into it the Circars districts of the Madras Presidency and the eastern part of the Nizam's Dominions, was the kingdom of this dynasty which claims to have come from Ayodhya, and to have belonged to the race of Ikshvākus. As the Chalukyas claim similarly to have come from Ayodhya, though rather late in their history, and as they seem to emerge into importance from almost the same region, we may take it that there probably was some connection between Aikshvākavās, the descendants of Ikshvaku, who succeeded the Andhras, and the Chalukyas who came into prominence in the sixth century A.D. The Chalukyas afterwards divided into two branches, the eastern and the western, and took the whole of the Nizam's Dominions between them. In that sense, the Chalukyas may be regarded as a power of the Dakhan as we understand the term. From about the middle of the sixth century

to just past the middle of the eighth, they held sway over the whole of this region, fighting constantly against the Pallavas to keep them without the frontier of the Tungabhadra, the region between that and the Krishna having thus become then alone the debatable frontier, as it has always been in more recent Indian History. The Chalukyas may be regarded as a great power, and their greatest ruler Pulikesin exercised authority over the whole of the Dakhan, and proved the equal, if not the superior, of the emperor, Harsha of Kanauj in the north, his contemporary, whom he compelled to limit his advance at the Vindhya mountains. Hiuen T'sang's account of him is that of a very great ruler, whose authority, and beyond authority, his influence, extended widely. He sent an embassy to the great Persian ruler Khursu II, and received a return embassy from him, and one of the Ajantá frescoes has been taken to represent the receipt of this mission, although the identification has been called in question in recent times.

When we pass out of the dominance of the Chalukyas, we come to a dynasty, which may readily be claimed to be a native dynasty of the present-day Nizam's Dominions. The more so with their capital which, ever since they had achieved an important position, lay within the Nizam's Dominions, and their authority extended over the whole area of it during the period of their dominance of very near two centuries and a quarter.

The Rāshtrakutas, as the dynasty is generally called, came to power in the middle of the 8th century after subverting the rule of theChalukyas, generally described by historians as the Chalukyas of Badami, or early Chalukyas, to distinguish them from another dynasty which claimed descent from them, and which ruled from a capital at Kalyani. Hence they were known as the Chalukyas of Kalyani. These are also described as the early Chalukyas and later Chalukyas respectively. We must also remember to distinguish them from the Chalukyas that ruled over the east coast region. These used therefore to be called Western Chalukyas, both the early and the later dynasties. Somewhere about A.D. 754a Rāshtrakuta chieftain, somewhere about the eastern part of the Chalukya tarritorry of those days, rose sufficiently into importance to marry a Chalukya princess. The son of this marriage improved the petty principality over which he ruled, and by openly throwing off his allegiance to the ruling dynasty acquired possession of the southern part of the territory in alliance with the Pallavas, and by gradually extending his power northwards became master of the bulk of the Chalukya territory in the middle, and ultimetely attacked and overthrew the last scion of the imperial Chalukya family and set himself up as the supreme ruler of the Dakhan instead. This ruler is known to historians by his name Dantidurga, even by his title Vīramegha, in which style he is referred to by a contemporary writer, Tirumangai Alvar. Thus was founded the dynasty of the Rāshtrakutas.

From the days of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa rulers of the Dakhan used to be styled Bhoja, and in the description of the Mahabhiseka of Indra it is stated clearly that Indra was annointed supreme ruler of the south under the designation Mahabhoja, as was customary. The term Bhoja therefore stood for a ruler, literally one that enjoyed a particular piece of land or country. That the term was in general use, we know from certain Andhra inscriptions which refer to village officers as "Gama Gama Bhojakas," officers appointed over each single village. It is a mere extension of the term to higher gradations to decribe governors as Bhojas and Mahabhojas ultimately, and the rulers of Vidarbha have always been Bhojas, and the family of Bhojas held rule not only there, but in various other places as well. A similar official designation is that of the Rashtraka, the Rishtika of the Asokan inscriptions. Rashtra is of course a division, and Rashtrika is ruler over the division. The term Rashtraka seems to be used almost synonymously with the name ruler or king, as one class of states or people are described as *Arashtrakas* or *Arattas* because they were people who carried on their administration without a *Rashtraka* that is an individual ruler. The term came later on to be used in Tamil in the Prakrit form *Arattan*, one who would not recognise a suzerain ruler. So *Rashtrika*, and Prakrit *Ristika*, would mean no more than the governor of a small province, as distinct perhaps from a kingly or royal ruler. There was a higher title the *Maharatti* or *Maharashtraka* corresponding to the Mahabhoja. We have references to this in earlier inscriptions, an illuminating example of which we get in the designation of the father of the early Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā whose father is called Maharati Kalalayo in the coins and even in the inscriptions relating to him. So Ratta and Maharatta, respectively Rashtraka and Maha Rashtraka, were official designations, perhaps hereditary like Desais, Despandes and Deshmukhs of the history of a later period. The term Rashtrakuta therefore may mean the most prominent among the Rashtrakas or Rashtriyas, Rattikas being in more popular use. Once the dynasty established itself in importance, their collaterals called themselves Rashtrakutas as well, and we come across records of a number of these families which held rule in various parts of the country. One of the families of these local rulers it is that gradually became sufficiently important to contract a marriage alliance with the imperial family at the time, and thus paved its way to an imperial position. The founder's was a short rule of about three years, A.D. 754–757. For some reason or other, he became unpopular, and his position was taken by his uncle known by the name Krishna, designated Krishna I, to distinguish him from two successors of the name. It was he who finally overthrew the Chālukyās and set up the Rāshtrakuta power more or less definitely. These early rulers seem to have had their capitals not mentioned anywhere specifically. The greatest achievement of Krishna in the realm of peace is the cutting out of the wonderful

temple, the Kailaśa temple at Ellora in the Nizam's Dominions. He was succeeded by two sons of his. The first ruled only for a short time and made himself sufficiently odious for his younger brother to take over the authority from him. This latter ruler is known by the name Dhruva, who played an important part. It was about this time, the last quarter of the 8th century, that a new disposition of powers was taking place all over India.

For a little over a century previous, an imperial power in the north of Hindustan had become an impossibility. When the emperor Harsha died, there was a usurpation, and what is more a disintegration of the empire. The usurper of one part of the territory drew down upon himself the wrath of China, which at the time was in alliance both with Tibet and Nepal. The usurper was defeated and taken prisoner to China, and that part of India was left to govern itself. The contemporary ruler of Magadha gradually worked his way up to assert his claims to imperial authority over Hindustan. This was the Gupta ruler Adityasena, the son of Harsha's viceroy in Magadha. For some reason or other, which we do not know exacatly, the ascendancy that he established does not appear to have lasted much beyond his reign. Another dynasty took its place, this time a dynasty which ruled in Kanauj. This made a similar effort, but before the effort could succeed, an enterprising ruler of Kashmir broke out from his seclusion and contested the claim to supremacy with the ruler of Kanauj. Now the threat of the advancing power of the Arabs across the the north-western frontier and the frontier of Sind on the one side, and of the vastly growing power of the Tibetans in the north, led these rulers to come to terms, and carry on till about the middle of the eighth century. But Kashmir had to draw back into its own frontiers, and the dominance of Kanauj ceased. The power of Kanauj showed signs of decay, and that was the occasion for frontier powers to assert their position and essay the establishment of an empire. At this period three powers stood forth, *viz.*, the Gurjaras of Rajaputana, the region that came to be known afterwards as the Savalāk (Sapatalaksha country), with their capital probably at Bhinmal or Sri-Mal. Simultaneously Bengal lifted itself from anarchy by the people electing a certain Pala prince, by name Gopala, who could rule over Bengal. He gradually consolidated his position by creating a larger Bengal, and from there his successor made his advances to take as much of the territory of Kanauj as he possibly could lay hands on. It was a question therefore of who was to be master of Kanauj, the Gurjaras of the West, or the Bengalees of the East. Either because one or the other of the two parties asked their assistance, or because the invitation came from Kanauj, the Rashtrakutas now found their opportunity for effeetive intervention. It was the Rashtrakuta Dhruva who took the tide at the flood, and advanced northwards with telling effect, conquering the region of Gujarat and bringing the ruler of Malva

under his influence. With intervention began that triangular equipoise between the Gurjaras, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas all alike exerting themselves to establish their influence over what was the empire of Kanauj, and thus achieve an imperial position. The result of this triangular struggle ended in the establishment of the imperial power of the Gurjaras, in spite of the fact that the Rashtrakutas intervenled with decisive effect on two occasions, once in the early 9th century and another time in the 10th century. The Palas of Bengal consolidated their power in Bengal itslf and gave up their effort at an imperial position.

The chief share of the distinction in achieving this high position for the Rashtrakutas must be given to Govinda III, the son of Dhruva, who constituted the province of Lāta or Gujarat, and appointed over it a brother of his by name Indra. He definitely brought Malva into subordination to the Rashtrakutas, and carried the war even into the territory of the Doab, thus continuing effectively what his father Dhruva had begun. It was in his region probably that the foundations of the later capital Malkhed, in the heart of the Nizam's Dominions now, was laid. One great achievement which inscriptions ascribe to Govinda is his compelling his eastern Chalukya contemporary Vijyaditya, better known by his title Narendra Mrigaraja, to assist in the building of the wall of the new fortress of the capital city that he was thus engaged in building. It is by this capital city that these rulers were known to foreigners. The early Muhammadan historians beginning with Sulaiman refer to these rulers generally as the Balhara, which is the Prakritised form of a title, which the rulers of this dynasty, as well as their Chalukya predecessors, affected, *viz.*, Villabha, a contracted from of Prithivi-Vallabha (the beloved of the earth.) This would mean beloved of the earth, a formal expression which the Hindus much affected in describing particularly popular sovereigns. This Vallabha assumes the Prakrit and Kannada from Ballaha, which the Arabs corrupted into Balhara. The successors of Sulaiman mention the Balhara and the ruler of Gurz, Gurjaras, as the two rulers of India, and, among them, they gave the palm to the Balhara. They mention him among the four great rulers of the then known world, *viz.*, the Khalif, the ruler of Rum, the ruler of China and the Balhara making up the fourth. Govinda's successor was the famous Nripatunga or Amoghavarsha, who had a long reign of 64 years. He consolidated the position acquired by his father, and made his influence extensively felt. Rashtrakuta influence was felt all over the country from the banks of the Ganges almost down to the banks of the Kaveri. He was a Jain by persuasion, and was a great patron of letters. Jain literature and Jain scholars particularly, flourished in his reign, and some of the first names among these were the contemporaries of Amoghavarsha Nripatunga. His patronage extended equally to Sanskrit and Kannada, in the latter of which his is a great name

also. The empire lasted till late in the 10th century when it was in its turn overthrown by a scion of the superseded Chalukya family, who took advantage of the struggle both in the north and in the south, with which the Rashtrakutas encumbered themselves, particularly with rising power of Malva.

This put an end to the dynasty in 972, and the later Chalukyas of Kalyani established themselves in their stead. The establishment of the Gurjara empire in Hindustan definitely set a term to Rashtrakutas advanc in the north, and, under the last great successor of Amoghavarsha by name Krishna III, early in the 10th century, the Rashtrakutas advanced southwards into the territory of the rising power of the Cholas, and even definitely occupied the northern districts of the newly rising power after inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Chola heir-apparent in A.D. 949. The Rashtrakuta empire lasted hardly 25 years longer, the length of a single generation though actually taken up by three or four rapidly succeeding reigns. The vast extension of authority coupled with the rise of a new powerful dynasty in Malva under the Paramaras brought about the weakening of the Rashtrakuta power, which was taken advantage of by the feudatory Chalukya under Taila II to establish himself in the place of the Rashtrakutas. Thus was founded the dynasty of the later Chalukyas.

Taila or Tailapa II was the ruler who subverted the Rashtrakutas in A.D. 972. Later rulers of this dynasty give themselves a genealogy connecting them with the early Chalukyas. The genealogy does not prove itself to be quite satisfactory, and gives us clearly to understand that after their overthrow in the middle of the 8th century, they had been reduced to a position of no consequence till the rise of Tailapa to the new position, and while members of this family may have lived on continuously, we have no definite knowledge of the family as in existence, or of the line of succession. It is, however, a matter of no great consequence to history. The war against Malva had begun even before the usurpation, and in fact the usurpation was made possible by the vigorous attacks of the Malva rulers. This we can understand as the Rashtrakutas claimed a sort of overlordship over Malva from the days of Dhruva and Govinda. It was merely the effort on the part of the newly established dynasty of Malva to shake off the yoke. The war would therefore have been more bitter than usual, and the weakness of the successors of Krishna III easily lent itself to the usurpation. The usurper however became heir to the war along with the territory. Taila had the good luck to inflict a crushing defeat upon the successor of the first important ruler of Malva, Siyaka Harsha. His younger brother Munja carried on 16 successful invasions of Chalukya territory. He was defeated in the last invasion. and was thrown into prison. He was put to death ignominiously as a common felon, as he made an effort to escape from confinement with

partial success. The war continued under the greatest of the Paramaras of Malva, Bhoja, and the two successors of Tailapa himself. The misfortune that befall the Rashtrakutes; and the war along the northern frontier which absorbed the attention of their successors gave the opportunity for the Cholas to reassert their authority and rectify their frontier by advancing northwards. The year of the Chalukya usurpation also happens to be the year when the greatest ruler of the Chola dynasty came into prominence although for the time he left the collateral member of the family, an uncle, succeeded to the throne, himself playing a subordinate role as heir-apparent. This is Rajaraja, the Great, of the Chola dynasty of Tanjore. The third ruler from Taila was Jayasimha, in whose time the Malva war sank into a subordinate position; and simultaneously began the battle royal between the Cholas and the Chalukyas which lasted the whole of the eleventh century, and came to an end only in the reign—and that late in the reign of the great Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. Somesvara, Great in war (Ahavamalla), was the ruler whose contribution to the Chalukya empire was the keeping back of the rising tide of Chola aggression, which, through the previous reign had been gradually gaining in power and soon getting to be irresistible. Through a long reign from A. D. 1044 to 1069 Somesvara was engaged in constant effort to keep this rising Chola tide within bounds. The Cholas had by now advanced across the tableland of Mysore taking into their territory the Gangavadi 96,000, and what was a regular frontier region through the middle of Mysore diagonally from the south-west and along the Tungabadra till it joined the Krishna. All along this long frontier they had to fight. There seem to have been several capitals of this dynasty under the early rulers. Malkhed probably continued still to be the actual capital, although other capitals are spoken of, a number of them. Among them, places of importance, which figure often in Chola inscriptions, Kollipakkai, the Kulpak of modern times not very far from Hyderabad and Secunderabad. A series of fortified places are mentioned along the frontier extending westwards from Kulpak, and various battles had been fought along this frontier in the reign of Somesvara, the Ahavamalla, the father, his son and successor, Somesvara, tne Bhulokamalla. Vikramaditya, the younger brother of Somesvara II who ascended the throne by setting aside his elder brother entered into an alliance with the Cholas, and, taking advantage of it, overthrew his brother and ascended the throne. This gave a certain amount of respite, but a revolution in the Chola empire immediatly after made the peace comparatively shortlived. It is after almost a generation of war that the two great usupers, the Chola and tha Chalukya, learnt to respect each other and their frontier, and came to something like a definite understanding. The chronic wars then ceased. Vikramaditya had a long reign of fifty years, A. D. 1078 to 1127, and his reign marks the most glorious period of

Chalukya rule. It was under his father Somesvara that the capital was changed from Malkhed, and perhaps even Yadgir to Kalyani, all the three places in the Nizam's Dominions. A number of other capitals also could be mentioned in the Nizam's Dominiors while there were others besides outside the limits of his Exalted Highness' territory. Notwithstanding the wars against the Cholas, he was able so far to rule in peace that practically the whole of his long reign may be considered one of peace and prosperity. He was a great patron of letters. The remarkable names in Sanskrit literature may be mentioned, one the famous poet Bilhana, who wrote a history of Vikramaditya known as the *Vikramankadeva-charitam.* The other is the great Hindu commentator Vijnanesvara, the author of the *Mitakshara*, whose commentary is the authoriative text-book of law for the south. His successor, a son was a man of accomplishment, but seemed to have proved a weak ruler.

With him began the decay of the Chalukyan empire, which again suffered a usurpation in the middle of the 12th century when one of the governors of the empire took over the authority from another ruler by name Taila. The actual capital continued to be still Kalyani, and this usurper is known by the name Bijjala, and three of his sons continued to rule one after another. But the total period was well within about thirty years when the usurper dynasty was overthrown, and a scion of the later Chalukyas was restored to his legitimate position. The usurper Bijjala's reign was of great importance, as it was then that a Saiva movement took shape in the from in which it is prevalent to-day, the Virasaiva or the Lingayat movement. But otherwise his rule was one of vigour, and he managed to keep the provinces under control. The restoration of the Chalukayan dynasty was of short duration, and in less than a decade the ruler passes out of view, and the empire breaks up into a number of kingdoms. Three great families, and a number of smaller ones, divide the territory among them, and the period from then onward to the Muhammadan invasions is a period of the rule of the feudatory dynasties. Even the dynastic rulers come into view as powerful supporters of the empire in the reign of Jayasimha, and even earlier. They were under Vikramaditya VI, pillars of the empire, and when the empire grew weaker and weaker after the usurpation, they became more or less independent. Three families stood out most prominently, the Yadavas of Devagiri with Sinnar or Junnar, first of all as their capital, and Devagiri afterwards; the Kakatiyas of Anamkonda, and then Warangal; and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra. There were half a dozen other chieftains of minor degree owing allegiance to one or other of these but these set about dividing the territory of the empire among themselves practically. Of these the Kakatiyas of Warangal were a dynasty whose territory lay over the greater part in the Nizam's Dominions, and whose capitals Anamkonda and Warangal alike

are situated in the heart of this territory. After they established themselves in independence a succession of five or six rulers continue, among them a woman. The rule of Ganapati, of his successor Rudramba and that of the last of them, Prataparudra II, were reigns of very considerable importance and grert prosperity. It was under Prataparudra that the first Muhammadan invasion of Warangal took place under Alla-ud-din and the dynasty was put an end to after a series of raids by one of the invasions of Muhammad bin Tughlak in 1323, or thereabouts.

This in brief, and in general outline, is the survey of pre-Musalman history of the Dakhan. The best way of rousing interes- in the history of the territory would be to give a general conspectus of history. The object is to rouse a certain amount of interest in the history of the region, so that a certain amount of local investigation and reconstruction of the past may be attempted as original work by interested students of the history. It is also one of the usual educational methods to take advantage of the natural interest that people have in their homeland, by gradually widening the horizon extend the interest to a larger field, thus drive home knowledge of the subject in general. If this conspectus should evoke some interest in the people of the region to know more, and, to know more generally of the history of India, the address would have served its purpose wonderfully well.

The Coin of Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni

BY

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THE surface of Satavāhana numismatics has been ruffled by two finds—a large hoard of 1500 coins in the Akola Dt. and that of two rectangular copper coins of a Sirisādavāhana. The former establishes the virtual accuracy of the Puranic Lists of the later Sātavāhanas, just as the Nāneghāt *relievo* inscriptions establish the veracity of the Puranic Lists of early ones. The Siri-Sātavāhana coins which were purchased by Advocate Joglekar of Poona at Aurangabad are very unique. The other known Sātavāhana coins present one common feature in the midst of their Gupta like variety—the dynastic name sometimes used in the inscription is not found on the coins. That these two pieces are the coins of the first king Simuka Sātavāhana, there can be no doubt either on palaeographical or on numismatic or on nomenclature grounds. The other Sātavāhana of the Nāneghāt records died a prince. I cannot agree with Mr. Joglekar that Sātavāhana was the personal name of the first king and that it later on became the dynastic name, for in the Nāsik inscription Kanha the brother of Simuka is said to have belonged to the *Sādavāhana-kula.*

The coin of Gotamiputra Siri-Sātakarni is another important find. It was given to me for examination by Mr. Joglekar and was also purchased at Aurangebad. It is a round point coin, 95″ in diameter and 2282 grs. in weight. On the obverse is an elephant with the trunk hanging down and standing right. On its back at the extreme left can be dimly discerned a rider. Below the elephant are two wavy lines representing river.[1] It is the most graceful representation of the elephant walking on the known Sātavāhana coins. On the reverse are found a small Ujjain symbol, a swastika enclosed by a short cross-like symbol; half blundered into this is a caitya of three tiers surmounted by a crescent and a dot—a common feature on many of the Sātavāhana coins. To the left of the swastika there is the taurine symbol.

The legend reads as

(rā) *ñ* (*o*) *Goto* (*a*) *mip* (*u*) *tasa*

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1. The symbol of a river with fish swimming is found on the early Satavahana coins picked up in western India.

In view of the fact that there is no independent coin of certain attribution to Gotamiputa Siri-Satakaṇi 24th in the Puranic List and the conqueror of Nahapāna has been found we may be tempted to treat the legends as partial and ascribe them to Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sātakani 28th in the Puranic Lists whose coins have been picked up in large numbers in western India, the Central provinces and in the Andhradesa.[2] But on variuos grounds its ascription to Gotamiputa Siri Sātakāni is more fitting.

1. On the numerous Siri-Yaña coins presenting a variety of types, we have elephant with trunk upraised, horse, caitya and the elephant standing (Rapson No. 164), but nowhere do we come across elephant walking. On coins conjecturally attributed by Rapson to Gotamiputa Sātakani on numismatic and palaeographical grounds, we have elephant walking. (Rapson *Catalogue* Pl. IV, No. 64).

2. On all the Siri-Yaña coins from either the Āndhradesa or the Chanda Dt. each orb of the Ujjain symbol is represented by a pellet with a surrounding circle. On the coin under reference there is no pellet.

3. On no coin of Siri-Yaña is the present reverse combination of Caitya, Ujjain symbol and swastika found.

4. There is also no space on the obverse for the legends Yaña coins has angles. *Ga* of the former with longer arms is certainly earlier. *Pa* of Gotamiputa Siri–Sātakanis is less angular than that of the Yaña coins. *Ta* of the coins of Yaña has a loop.

In short palaeography stamps the coin under reference as earlier than the Yana coin. The only Gotamiputa immediately earlier to Siri–Yaña is Gotamīputa Siri--Sātakani 24th in the Puranic List, the conqueror of Nahapāna, the reviver of the Sātavāhana glories and the subject of the funeral oration of Gotami Balasiri as recorded in the Nasik ins. of the time Pulūmāyi.

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2. Except for the Siri-Satakani coins of the Akola hoard and some coins picked up in western Deccan and both conjectually attributed to Gotamiputa Siri-Satakani we have no independent coin of this king.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM GUNTUR

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THE inscription which is on a stone slab and is much mutilated and defaced was found in Chezarla, a village in the Tenāli taluq of theGuntūr Dt. The language is Sanskrit though the inscription begins whith the Prakrit word *kalissara* The characters are of early south Indian type. On palaeographical grounds the ins. may be assigned to the sixth cen. A.D. It records the grant of a village by a *Prthivìyuvarája* who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets many of which relate to his strength and prowess on the battlefield. The name of the donee and other details about the grant are lost in the midst of the mutilated passages. The Prthivíyuvarāja is only known by his surnames, *Ranamahámalla* and *Satsabhámalla.* It is further said that he was born of king Kandaras's daughter and that his army fought a battle at Dhānyakataka. He was a worshipper of *Parameswara.*

King Kandara is styled *Sitetarabennànatha* and *Trikùtaparvatapati.* The practice of singling out place names in this way was prevalent in the Sātavāhana period also. *Sitetarabenná* is Krsnabennā; and all the records of the Kandaras have been found in the Guntūr Dt. The identification of *Trikútaparvata.* is not so easy. In his *Buddhist Remains in the Andhradesa* Dr. K. R. Subramaniam connects this Triküta with that of the Kadambas. True any three-peàked hill may be called Trikūta. The Nasik hill is called Tiranhu. In the Rāmāyana it is said that Lanka was built on Trikūta. But in the Ipūr plates of *Madhavarman II* he is called Trikuta-*Malayadhipati.* This joint mention of Trikūta and Malaya should dispose any attempt to identify the Trikuta of these records with any three-peaked hill in the eastern Deccan. Malaya which is also mentioned in Nāsik No. 2 is the Western Ghāts. In Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa,* mountain Trikuta, from which the designation Traikutaka must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta (N. Konkan); and the

Surat plates of Vyāghrasena, a Traikutaka, claims to have ruled over Aparānta. While editing the Ipūr plates, Dr. Hultzach passed over the epithet, *Trikuta Malayadhipati* with the remark that Mādhavavarman claimed to have been lord of Trikūta and Malaya (mountain) which were at a safe distance from his dominions Is it an empty or ornamental epithet suddenly making its appearance in only one of the Visnukundin records. In Nāsik No. 2 Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakani is called *Vijha-Chavata- Paricata- Sahya-Kanhagiri- Maca- Siritana- Malaya- Mahida- Setagiri- Cakora-Pavatapati.* Surely these are not empty epithets. How could Mādhavavarman or Kandara have got the titles even though their dominions were at a safe distance from their dominions. We get the clue from a Vākātaka ins. Verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prthivisena and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuta and Lāta and Āndhra as having been subjugated by one of the later Vākātakas. At that time the Visnukundins were the Āndhra power. Such defeats would have been repaid and the outcome of such prolonged hostilities must have been the marriage alliance referred to in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramahendravarman. The defeat which the Visnukundin inflicted on the Vākātakas must have provided for the former the for occasion for taking over the latter's titles or glories. The Kandaras would by defeating the Visnukundins with or without the help of the Pallavas got the title or glory for themselves. This is the most probable explanation. and the Chezarla ins. refers to a hard fought battle at Dhanyakataka.

It is also interesting to note that the queen of king kandara is called an *Āndhrasundarì* and that Kandara was the king of a kindom with two divisions or the king of two kingdoms. Since all the records of the Kandaras come only from the Guntur Dt. the former explanation is preferable.

2. *Who is the Prthivīyuvarāja of this inscription*: only his surname '*Ranamahāmalla*' is given Prthivī-*yuvarāja* reminds us of *Prthvīvallabha* and *Prthivībuvarāja* of the Kopparam plates of Pulakesin II's time. But the inscription under review is not a Cālukyan inscription as the family name and some epithets which are invariably found in the Cālukyan records are absent though we have the word *Svakula*. *Malla* ending in the surname shows without doubt that it is a Pallava inscription. The sculptures of the Vaikunthaperumal temple at Kāñci supply additional proof. One of the compartments mentions *Srimalla*, *Ranamalla*, *Sangrāmamalla*, and *Pallavamalla* as Hiranyavarma's four sons. Compartment I mentions Hiranayavarman and Paramesa. varavaraman II (beginning of the 8th cen).

The Ranamahāmalla of our ins. cannot be the Raṇamalla of the Kāñci ins. as king Kandara cannot be shifted to such a late date. Moreover surnames are not the monopoly of one sovereign. Moreover the title of yuvarāja was known to the earliest Pallavas. The Practice of registering the surnames of the ruling prince was apparently begun by Mahendravarman I (*Satrumalla*) and became popular during the time of Narasimhavarman II (*Rājasimha*).

The Pallava Prince is called *Prathitānprthivīyuvarajah Prathitān Prthivīyuvarājah* gives no sense. Can it be a scribal error for *prathitāndraprthiviyuvarajah?* He would then be a Pallava prince who was viceroy of the Andhra *desa*.

BUDDHISM IN THE DECCAN

BY

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THE great revival of interest in Buddhism in recent times, is due in no small measure to the magnificent patronage bestowed by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, for the preservation of the Buddhist monuments, sculptures and paintings at Ajanta, Ellora and other places in the State.

Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism was a historical personality, who lived between 563 and 483 B. C. It is not certain, whether Buddha travelled in the Deccan. There is, however, no doubt, that from about the beginning of the 3rd Century B. C. Buddhism received the patronage of the Deccan rulers and for about six hundred years, flourished side by side with Jainism and Hinduism. Buddhism was not a revolt against Brahminism. It was only an expansion of the Brahmanic teaching of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The essence of the Upanishadic teaching was not to preach negation of life. A life of strenuous activity devoid of attachment was taught by the Upanishads and Buddha's mission, as pointed out by Sir Radhakrishnan, was to accept the idealism of the Upanishads at its best and make it available for the daily needs of mankind.

Asoka the Great (273-232 B C)

It was the patronage of Emperor Asoka that transformed Buddhism from a small sect to one of the world religions. Asoka deserves to be classed among the pioneers of the movement for world peace. In his edicts, he proclaimed that "True conquest is conquest not over men's bodies but over their hearts and wills, that fine glory or fame does not depend upon the extent of one's dominions but upon the moral progress he can help his people to achieve".

Buddhism had spread in the Deccan by the time of the Asoka. Asokan inscriptions have been discovered at Maski in the Raichur District and at Gavimath and Phalkigundu, two hills near Kopbal, 21 miles from Hampi-Vizianagar. They prove beyond doubt the extension of Asoka's dominions in the Deccan. Maski is identified with Suvarnagiri or Gold Mount, the headquarters of Asoka's Viceroy in the Deccan. The Asokan inscriptions mentioned only

the titles of Asoka, viz. Devanam Piya or Priya Darsi, "The beloved of the Gods or gracious looking". The Maski inscription is a unique contribution to Asokan scholarship, in that it mentions Asoka by name, as the author of the edict. One of the two inscriptions at Kopbal is complete and all its letters are legible. Buddhism spreads sweetness and light to the lowly and the disinherited. The inscriptions proclaim, "This cannot be obtained by only a great man: on the other hand by a lowly man acting zealously wide heaven also can be obtained. And for this matter this proclamation that both the lowly and the exalted may act zealously and the borderers also may know and zealous action may be long lasting and this matter shall grow and shall grow wide and shall grow half as much again".

By the 6th century A. D. both Hindusm and Buddhism observed foreign elements and the Bhagawatha Purana bears evidence to the synthesis of cultures and the recognition given to the different racial factors in the country in a verse, which bears comparison to the famous edicts of Asoka, (2-4-18) :—

"I bow to the almighty Lord by adoring whose devotees low class people such as Kiratas, Hunas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Abhiras, Kamkas, Yavanas and Sakas, as well as high class people who have fallen into sin become absolved".

The edicts of Asoka, as well as the verses in Bhagavatha indicate a great revolution in thought, constituting an epoch in the development of Freedom of mind. A modern parallel is provided by the recent proclamation of the Maharajah of Travancore throwing open the public temples to all Hindus by brith or by conversion.

Early Buddhist Monuments.

The sacred relics of Buddha were deposited in caskets and over them were erected Stupas or tombs. Later on, when caves were hewn out of rocks, Chaityas or halls were constructed, with a Stupa or Dagoba containing the relics of Bhudha. If we compare the Chaitya to a Hindu temple, the Dagoba corresponds to the Garbha Griha, which contains the image of God or Goddess in a Hindu temple. Relic worship was not peculiar to the Buddhists. The medieval movement of Hindu Vaishnavaism, especially in the Deccan, emphasised the importance of preserving the memory of their saints, by the construction of tombs or Brindavanas. The important shrine contains the bodily remains of the departed saint but bones or ashes may be carried to different places and shrines constructed, wherever the influence of the saint has spread. The tomb of Jayatirtha, a fourteenth century Vaishnava Saint of Malkhed, the tombs of the Vyasaraya and others at Anegondi are some of the

most conspicuous. The Sikhs also worship the relics of their Gurus. The tomb at Nanded attracts Sikhs from all parts of India. Small miniature relic caskets in metal, containing the ashes gathered from those of the original tombs are kept in daily worship, by the followers of the respective saints. This is a form of saint-worship widely prevalent in the Deccan.

One of the epochmaking periods in the history of the Deccan, was the period between 230 B.C and 230 A.D. The dynasty of the Andra kings, held undisputed sway, from sea to sea, carried on active external trade with Roman Empire on the west and the islands of the Indian archipelago on the East. There was also brisk internal trade and the cities of Barygaza, Modern Broach, Sopara and Kaliana, near Bombay, Paithan or Pratishtana, Ter or Tagara Masalia, modern Masulipatam, obtained reputation outside India, and were made mention of by Ancient classical writers. The greatest legacy of the Andhra kings to the culture of India—nay even to the culture of the world–is all that is represented by the word Ajanta. One of the most famous Buddhist Stupas was constructed at Amaravathi or Dhanyakataka, near the frontier of the Hyderabad State, towards Bezwada. Some of the specimens of Amaravathi Sculpture, representing the life-story of Buddha are to be found deposited in the Hyderabad Museum. The greatest Buddhist philosopher of the second century A.D. Nagarjuna, resided at Nagarjuna konda, in the immediate neighbourhood of Amaravathi. I listened with great interest and profit to an interpretation of the sculptures at Nagarjunakonda, representing the life story of Buddha, at the Indian History Congress, held at Madras, last December. I consider, that a comparative study of the life story of Buddah as depicted in the paintings at Ajanta and the Sculptures at Nagarjuna konda, will be of great interest and value to Students of Buddhist art and culture. The absorption of several foreign elements into Indian culture, largely due to the cosmopolitanism of Buddhism and its liberal influence on contemporary Hinduism, is illustrated by the examples of Heliodorus the Greek, who became a Parama Bhagawatha and the Indo-Greek king, Menander, who became the Buddhist, Milinda. The power of Menander, extended as far as Sindh, Kathiawar and portions of the Deccan. Like his great predecessor, Alexander, he had dreams of establishing cultural contacts between the East and the West.

The Vakataka kings, who held sway in the Deccan, for nearly two hundred years after the fall of the Andhras, from their Imperial position continued to patronise Buddhism in the Deccan and the caves of Ajanta, contain inscriptions of grants made by the Vakataka kings or their ministers.

The great Chalukya king, Pulakesi II, succeeded in preserving the integrity of the Deccan against the attempts made by Emperor

Harsha to conquer the Deccan. Cultural contacts existed between Persia and the Deccan as early as the Seventh Century A.D. The Persian historian, Tabari of the 9th century A.D. gives a detailed account of the correspondence that passed between the Deccan king, Pulakesi and the Sassanian Monarch Khusru II. Among the gifts that were sent by Pulakesi, were an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. The famous Chinese pilgrim, Hieun Tsang visited Pulakesi's court and bore testimony to the patronage given to Brahminical as well as Buddhist learning by the Deccan king.

The Buddhist caves at Ajanta and Ellora.

Ajanta and Ellora were important centres of Buddhist influence in the Deccan for nearly a thousand years, from the 2nd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. Ellora is situated north-west of the Hyderabad State and is 13 miles from Aurangabad. Ajanta is 55 miles from Aurangabad. There are 29 cave temples at Ajanta. They are hewn out of solid living rocks, in a semi-circular scrap, 250 feet high, extending for about 600 yards. From a distance, they appear like a succession of pillared verandahs. The spot chosen at Ajanta is the most appropriate for study and meditation. The scenery around is marvellous for its beauty and charm. The hills and rocks, the waters of the Waghora stream running down the valley, the luxurious foliage all round, especially after the rains in September, leave an unforgettable impression on one, who seeks peace and an escape, even for a short time, from the din and bustle of a busy world. An inscription in one of the caves at Ajanta, describes the place as a very auspicious and lovely one, "where pious persons adorned with excellent virtues have their residence." *Nivasanti hi yatraiva Santah Sadguna bhushanah tam Mangalyam Manojam Ca..................*

Chaityas and Viharas.

Amidst such surroundings were excavated the Chaityas and Viharas of the Buddhists. The Chaityas were halls for common worship and contained the Stupa or Dagoba, the domed shrine above the relics of Buddha. The Dagoba corresponds to the Garbha griha of the Hindu temple. The Viharas were lecture halls used by scholars and pilgrims with small apartments for the resident professors, the monks. They also contain shrines with huge sculptures of Buddha, in different postures of meditation.

The earliest Chaityas contain no image of Buddha. But in course of time, we find images of Buddah carved on the Dagoba. The only Chaitya cave at Ellora, known as the Viswa Karma cave

contains a huge Dagoba with a seated Buddha 11 ft. high. The pose of the legs is not the usual cross-legged form but what we may call "the European fashion", like the position occupied when seated on a chair. In one of the most elaborately carved Chaityas at Ajanta, cave 19, we find Buddha standing, within the arch in the dome. There is a seated Buddha above and on the top of the Stupa, there are the three umbrellas in stone, one above the other. In cave No. 26, Buddha is seated on a Lion throne. Lion thrones or Simhasanas made of metal are very commonly used, to the present day, as seats for household objects of worship, by the Hindus of the Deccan. Cave 19 belongs to the 6th century A.D. and represents a great development of Mahayana sculpture. Cave 26 contains a beautiful figure of the dying Buddha, more than 23 feet long.

Of the Viharas, caves 1 and 2 belong to the 6th century A.D. Cave 1 has a verandah 64 feet long, with a beautifully carved large door, leading to a hall 64 feet square. Both the Viharas contain sculptural representations of the Dhyani Buddhas of colossal size

The Paintings.

The Fresco paintings of Ajanta have acquired world-wide fame. The Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government has spared no pains or expense in doing everything that is possible to preserve for future generations, the fragments that have survived climatic destruction.

The paintings at Ajanta represent not only the life story of Buddha but also scenes from the Jataka or birth stories of the Buddha in previous births. As Prof. Winternitz pointed out, many of these stories are not genuinely Buddhist. Many of them belong to the common property of Indian ascetic poetry. The Jataka stories illustrate the Buddhist Dharma. The Hindu Puranic stories illustrate the Bhagawatha Dharma. The most popular Jataka story is the Víswantara Jataka. It is as popular among the Buddhist as Ramayana is among the Hindus. In Tibet and Burma, it is dramatically represented and the audience shed tears. It is represented in Buddhist sculpture from Ceylon to Combodia. The Viswantara Jataka teaches the Dharma of generosity. The mission of king Viswantara in life was, to give. His story strongly resembles that of king Harischandra who was generous to a fault. Similar is the story of king Bali in the Bhagawatha Purana. He was asked to give three paces of land. The whole earth was covered by the first, heaven was covered by the second and the king offered his head for the third pace and he thanks god that the loss of his kingdom brought him nearer to God. The details of the Viswantara story are well depicted in the Ajanta paintings.

Grousset describes Ajanta as a poem of Indian womanhood. The delineation of Queen Maya, in a standing position, at the time of the birth of Buddha is one of best exambles of the art of Ajanta The great st freedom is given to emotion and fancy but unlike the sculptural representation at Palampet, the prominent note is spiritual and all idea of voluptuousness is avoided.

One of the most unforgettable paintings at Ajanta is that of the Mother and Child. Buddha appears before the palace gate, bowl in hand. Buddha's wife and child are offering alms. In one of the legends of Buddha, it is stated that Buddha as a mendicant was not recognised by his wife and to convince her that he is now an Enlightened one, he began to take a form larger and larger in size and enabled his wife and son to witness that vision. The legend has such a striking parallel to the Viswarupa Darsana given by Sri Krishna to Arjuna in the Bhagawat Gita.

One of the Ajanta paintings in cave 2 represents the Kshantivadi Jataka, very popular in all Buddhistic lands. It is the story of the preacher of peace and patience. The Kshantivadi never loses his composure under the greatest pain and provocation. An angry king cuts off his limbs. There is an inscription on the painting which describes the state of mind of Kshantivadi, "And the joy which he experienced from giving left no space for the feeling of pain caused by cutting and continually prevented his mind from being plunged into grief." The teaching of the Kshantivadi conveyed through this inscription is a revised version of the Upanishadic teaching of the Isavasya—By doing actions, live a hundred years. The Bhagawatha Purana popularised this teaching of the Upanishads and that of the Buddha and the Bodhisatwas. Neither in the Upanishads nor in the teaching of the Buddha was there negation of activity. Everywhere the appeal is to creative activity and an integration of personality. The inscription on the Kshantivadi painting runs as follows:—"He who having obtained the blameless human state and being born in the full possession of organs and senses, sound and vigorous, without any defect, neglects to do good actions every day from lack of attention—such a one is much deceived: is he not subject to the necessity of death?" The Bhagawatha Purana presents a close parallel:—"Having at the end of a long series of bodily existences obtained here this human body, not easily to be attained, capable of fruitful work, though perishable, the thoughtful man should soon endeavour, before it falls off, to attain to the highest good; on the other hand, the ordinary objects of senses may be had indeed everywhere (in every life).

The story of Prahlada, in the Bhagawatha Purana presents a close parallel to the story of the Kshantivadi. Prahlada was unmoved when trodden under the elephant's foot, thrown into fire thrown down from the hill and made to drink poison.

Mahayana Buddhism included the worship of the Bodhisatwas, beings destined for enlightenment. Of the several Bodhisatwas, Avalokiteswara is characterised as the jewel of the Buddhist Church. (Sangharatna). The painting of the great Bodhisatwa:—The Lord that looks down with infinite pity on all beings, Padmapani, lotus in hand, in cave 1 at Ajanta is considered to be one of the finest expressions of Indian art. He is represented as a charming prince, wearing a high tiara-shaped headdress standing in a very graceful pose. The figure bears a close resemblance to that of the dancing Krishna or Siva Nataraja.

The Dhyana sloka in the Sadhana-mala describes him as aged about twice eight years—and endowed with various auspicious marks. The mantra or prayer hymn which is the profound secret of Avalokiteswara is "Om Mani Padme Hum." The famous Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien, prayed to this Bodhisatwa for deliverance when he was overtaken by a storm, on the voyage from Ceylon to China.

Bhattacharya explains in his Buddhist iconography that Avalokiteswara is still supposed to work and foster spiritual knowledge amongst his fellow creatures. He is characterised as taking the shapes of all gods of all religions, nay, even the shape of father and mother: in fact, the form of the worshipped of any and every worshippers to whom he may impart knowledge.

We find a very close parallel in the Bhagawatha Purana, where the teacher of Bhagawatha to king Parikshit is described as Sarva Bhuta Hridayam "who is in the inmost heart of all beings." The Dhyna sloka of Srisuka, the great Bhagawatha teacher describes him as "Dvyashta Varsham" twice eight years.

The painting of the great Bodhisatwa received superlative praise from every student of Indology. Grousset describes it as "a figure worthy of a place in the art of the world by the side of the sublimest incarnations of the Sistine chapel, or of such drawings as that of Christ for "the last supper," in which Leonardo Da Vinci has expressed the most intense emotions of the soul." Says Dr. Coomaraswami, "The great Bodhisatwa is perhaps the most impressive, perfectly realising the conception of one born by right of virtue to the enjoyment of all that the world can offer and yet preoccupied with the one ruling passion of compassion." Writes Mr. Yazdani, "The name and history of the artist who painted this wonderful subject will never be known but the fading fresco as long as it survives, will tell the story of the genius and skill of its auther in most eloquent terms." The significance of the art of Ajanta is admirably expressed by Mr. Yazdani, "It is a vision of the living world that the artists of Ajanta represent, the teeming

earth, the springing plants, the birds, the deer, the elephants, crimson pillared pavilions and porticoes, gateways and roofs of cities and among all these, the life of men, women and children, supple limbed and gracious in gesture freely moving, playful or pensive in mood: all earthly life in its laughter and its grief: but always emerging from it a life of the spirit prevails, the spirit that contemplates and is filled with compassion." In short, "a profound conception of the unity of all life pervades it." Truly "Ajanta is a complete expression of every side of the Indian soul." What we witness with wonder, as we pass f om cave to cave, from sculpture to sculpture, and painting to painting is the free play given to the spirit in man. It is not the mythology of Buddhism but the value of the spirit that inspired it, that makes Ajanta an unforgettable contribution, that the Deccan has made to the cultural histoiy of the world.

Where Pulakeśi - Harsa Battle Took Place?

BY

SHAM. RA. SHENDE,
BRIHAN-MAHARASHTRIYA KARYALAYA,
SANGLI (BOMBAY).

PULAKESI was one of the mightiest and glorious emperors the Deccan has ever produced. He ruled not only the whole of India below Vindhya but also over late [1] (southern Gujarat) [2] Gurjaratra [1] (northern Gujarat [2] and central and southern Rajaputana) and Malava countries north of Vindhya mountains. His contemporary was Harsa ruling at Kanoja another equally illustrious King. The result was they had to test their might and valour one day which they did and Harsa had to sustain defeat. [3] This achievement gave Pulakesi a world wide fame. Presents came from the King of Persia. The title Parameswar was assumed by him and in later inscriptions he has been described as "...श्रीहरीषवर्धन पराजयोपात्त परमेश्वरशद्बस्य सत्याश्रय...महाराजाधिराज..." ३ (६) This battle between these two rivals is thus an established fact, two points relating to which are yet unsolved. These are (1) when this battle took place and (2) where it was fought. The first has been discussed by Dr. Altekar of Benares Hindu University and the present attempt is to deal with the second.

Determining the place of the battle has a historical significance. All leading historians such as Sir Bhandarkar, Fleet, V. Smith have fixed Narmada as the northern boundry of Pulakesi's empire, even though they have admitted that he had conquered Lata, Malava and Gurjar countries and these were within his empire. These three countries lying north of Narmada river, northern border of Pulakesi's empire must be beyond these countries and not Narmada river. The present attempt is aimed at removing this misunderstanding.

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1. Verse 22 of the Ihole inscription.
2. Early history of India by V. Smith 1924 Ed. P. 441.
3. (a) Beal's Buddhist Record of Westren India Vol. II:
   (b) Narayan plate published on P. 12: Vol. X (Bharat I. S. Mandal Quarterly.)

A table is given below with necessary particulars :—

Name of the writer	Name of the Book	When written	Year of the battle	Place of the battle
1. Ravikirti.	Aihole inscription.	634 A.D.	....	....
2. Yuan Chwang.	Beal's Buddhistic Record of Western India. Vol. II, p. 255.	639 A.D.	...	...
3. Dr. Fleet	Bom. Gaz. Vol. IX: P. I, page pp. 350-53.	1896. A.D.	609-10 A.D.	Narmada.
4. Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar.	Ibid. p. 183.	1896. A.D.	...	Narmada.

As regards the first issue the contemporary writers Ravikirti and Yuvan Chwang are silent. Dr. Fleet who edited the Aihole inscription twice in 1876 [4] and 1879 [5] gave the date as 609-10 and Dr. V. Smith as 620 [6], Mr. Diskalkar as 630 [7] but Dr. Altekar has very ably gone through all the pros and cons of the documentary and epigraphical evidences and arrived at the conclusion that "Harsa must have planned his offensive against Pulakesi between 630 - 634 A.D", [8] We should therefore accept 630 - 634 A.D. as the date of this battle.

The second issue is still undecided.

The Aihole inscription which has been accepted by all as an authentic document, has been relied upon as a source to write an account of Pulakesi and his ancestors. This inscription describe this incidence of the defeat of Harsa as :—

अपरिमित विभूतिस्फीत सामंतसेना
मुकुटमणि मयूखाक्रांत पादारविंदः ॥
युधिपतित गजेंद्रानीक बीभत्सभूतो
भयविगलितहर्षो येन चाकारि हर्षः ॥ २३

4. Ind. Ant. Vol. V. P. 72.
5. Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, P. 244.
6. Early History of India by V. Smith: 1924 Ed.: P. 353.
7. Samskrit inscriptions: Vol. I, part II, pp. 133–144.
8. Annals of B. O. R. I. Vol. XIII, pp. 305–6,
(a) Epi. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 3.
(b) Ind. Ant. Vol. V. P. 68.

The purport of this is:—Harsa prosperous with wealth offered to him by his feudatories was made to lose his joy on account of the fear caused by the death of many of his elephants in the battle with Pulakesi.

Here the poet describes the defeat of Harsa and the killing of his elephants by Pulakesi but he is silent as to the place where it was fought, and also about the cause of it ; but the previous verse (22) tells us that Pulakesi's suzerainty has been accepted by the Kings of Lata, Malava and Gurjar countries. Thus Pulakesi seems to have reached the doors of Harsa, as a result of which he has made preparations for an attack upon this invader. Yuan Chwang [10] narrates it thus :—"At the present time Siladitya Maharaja....has gathered troops from five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries and himself gone at the head of his armies to punish and subdue these people but he has not conquered their troops..." on the contrary he was defeated. Yuan Chwang did not point out the place of this battle and therefore the scholars of this day have been required to find it out.

This inscription has been edited for the third time by Dr. Kielhorn [11] in 1900-01, but he also left this point unanswered. In 1884 Sir Dr. Bhandarkar made two definite statements[12] :—(1) Harsa endevoured to extend his empire south of Narmada and (2) Pulakesi kept strong armies to guard his boundary on the bank of Narmada without putting forth any evidence to support these. Dr. Fleet, in 1896, made similar statement but in different words, while giving the account of the defeat of Harsa, as: "An attack[13] by Harsa did not succeed in penetrating to the south of Reva where Pulakesi's armies were encamped." He asserts this by saying "text implies". The "text" wherein the battle has been described, has been given above, but there is no mention of the place of the battle nor reference to the encampment of the armies of Pulakesi, not to the intention of Harsa to undertake this campaign.

Leaving aside the point of the "text" aside for a while let us examine how far these statements are well founded. Yuan Chwang gives the reason as "to [14] punish and subdue" Pulakesi who has reached the borders of his kingdom and not that "he desired to extend his empire south of Narmada."

Now let us see which was the target of Harsa's attack either "the forces of Pulakesi on Narmada where they were encamped" or

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10. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II, Page 353. A Passage from the accunt of Yuan Chwang.
11. Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 1.
12. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. Part II, Page 183.
13. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. Part II. Page 350.
14. Beals Buddhist Records of the Western India, Vol. II, P. 255.

"to attack and subdue" the armies of Pulakesi arrived on western borders of his kingdom. In 629 A.D.,[15] Pulakesi's suzerainty had been accepted the King of Gurjaratra *i.e.*, Rajaputana and he was attacked by Harsa sometime in 1630. Yuan Chwang made this statement in 639[16] from Badami. The Chinese traveller's account is accepted as authentic and we will safely take his words as the correct account of what had then occurred. Pulakesi's successful series of conquests for over 20 years must have reached the ears of Harsa, who, when found this great adventurer reached his door, would, as wise a ruler and a tactful warrior, have, prefered, first, to "attack, punish and subdue" him, rather than to go a long way off the Narmada river to extend his empire. The battle therefore must have been fought on the borders of Gurjaratra and that of the Kingdom of Harsa and not on the banks of Narmada.

Let us now see what "the text" says on this point. Verse 23, which describes the battle does not point out the battle-field nor its cause. Which then is the text referred to by the Doctor? It is certainly not V. 23. The learned Doctor, it seems took recourse to V. 24 as supplementing the previous one as a part of the description of the battle. It runs as :—

भुवमुरुभिरनीकैः शासतो यस्यरेवा
विविधपुलिन शोक्षावन्ध्य विन्ध्योपकण्ठः ॥
अधिकतरमराजत् स्वेनतेजो महिम्ना
शिरवरिभिरिभजों वर्ष्मणास्पर्धयेव ॥ २४

The substance of this is :– While Pulakesi was ruling the earth with his armies, the Vindhya rich in beauty of the sandy banks of Reva, shone by its own lustre more due to peaks, being devoid of elephants, which were greater in bulk than those (peaks) and therefore envied (by the peaks).

Here there is mention of Reva and Vindhya but those are neither said to be the battle field nor a military camp of Pulakesi.

Line of thinking preferred by Dr. Fleet, seems to be that इभवर्ज (V. 24) *i.e.*, absence of elephants is the result of युधिपतित गजेंद्र (V. 23) (having been killed in the battle) and since the absence is said to be in the vicinity of Vindhya (V. 24), and the battle must therefore have taken place in the vicinity of that mountain by the side of which the river Reva or Narmada flows. He did not take notice of the verse 22 and the historical incidents relating to it. Let us see whether इभवर्जे *i.e.* absence of elephants was the result of युधिपतित गजेन्द्र *i.e.* killing of the elephants in the battle is tenable.

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15. Annals of B. O. R. I. Vol. XIII, P. 305.

16. Bom. Gaz. Vol, I, Part II, Page 352 last line.

(1) Dr. Fleet translated इभवर्ज as "though Vindhya was deserted by its elephants" implying thereby that Vindhya was devoid of these, on account of the region of Vindhya and Reva west of Bhopal and Hande is climatically unsuitable for the elephants to live in.

(2) Absence of elephants as told by the poet was due to rivalry वर्ष्मणा स्पर्धयेव as to their bulk between peaks and the elephants.

(3) Dr. Kilhorn ascribes it to the legend of Agastya who ordered the mountain not to grow but it will have to do so if the bulk of the elephants would be larger than that of the peaks.

(4) Armies of Harsa usually contained thousands of elephants and it seems impossible that all those would have been killed and not one is left alive to make the mountain इभवर्ज.

(5) Taken 1 to 4 clauses together into consideration the cause of the absence of elephants in Vindhya can only be clause (1) and not the poetic allusions of the clause (2) or (3). We cannot therefore accept clause (4) which is an impossibility.

(6) Verse 24 is devoted to a fresh point *i. e* भुवमुरु भिरनीकैःशासतो यस्य (पुलकेशिनः) (after the battle is won,) "he has made arrangements for governing the countries conquered so far on the strength of his armies," Pulakesi (while returning home) reached Vindhya and Reva, the splendour and might of which the poet thought of comparing with that of his hero. By defeating Harsa Pulakesi attained world wide fame, and the poet therefore allowed two Verses (24 & 25) for eulogizing the emperor and to do that Ravikirti compared his hero with Vindhya for grandeur and loftiness in V. 24 and with Indra for powers, qualities and nobility in V. 25.

विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्रकल्पः
तिसृभिरपिगुणौघैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलाद्यैः ॥

(7) The eulogies lastly ended in

अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणाम्
नवनवति सहस्रग्रामभाजाम् त्रयाणाम् ॥ २५

that the Victorious king became lord paramount of Maharastra consisting of 99000 villages.

Taking all these points together into consideration we cannot but arrive at :—

(*a*) that the battle field cannot be Reva river but most probably the eastern boundary of Gurjaratra which was close to Harsa's empire ;

17. Epi Ind. Vol. VI, P. 10.

18. Early History of India, (1924 Ed.) by V. Smith P. 352.

(b) that the absence of elephants in Vindhya can be ascribed to the climatic unsuitability for the elephants to live in ;

(c) that the absenty elephants did not belong to Harsa since army of Harsa did not go to Vindhya ;

(d) that the verse 24 does not relate to the later portion of Harsa Pulakesi battle, but is an eulogy in which Pulakesi is said to have set up the management of the conquered countries and described as being grand and lofty as Vindhya mountain.

COLONIZATION OF BHARATA-KHANDA BY THE VAIDIKA ARYAS

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HISTORY of the Bharata-Khanda[1] begins with the advent of the Vaidika Aryas after they had colonized it and it will be interesting to know how they had spread all over the country. This attempt aims at dealing with the geographical aspect of it.

It has been an admitted fact that the Vaidika Aryas entered Bharata-Khanda by the north-western passes and begun setting by the banks of the river Sindhu. They must have continued this process till they reached the Arabian sea, which has been made clear from the name 'Sind' that part received. While going by this Sindhu river some miles west of Multan another river meets it. It seems some of the colonizers must have taken their course by this new river which is the confluence of several tributories of the Punjab rivers. That the Vaidika Aryas had practically occupied whole of the Punjab by setting on the banks of ali these tributories, can be seen from the mentions of all these :—

" .... सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचथा परुष्ण्या ।
आसिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये श्रुणुह्या सुषोमया ॥

The Rigveda refers to a general term 'Sapta-Sindhavah'[2] most probably to the confluence referred to above. The Rigveda mentions 'Sapta-Sindhavah' country[3] possibly to this colony on the Sindhu and Sapta-Sindhu rivers. This is the first colony the Vaidika Aryas made in Bharata-Khanda.

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1. (a) Bharata-Khanda or Varsa is the name found used to this continent in Vayu Purana. I: 45. 75-76.

वर्षं यद् भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारतीप्रजा ॥
भरणाच्चे प्रजानांवै मनुर्भरितर उच्यते ॥
निरुक्त वचनाचैव वर्षं तक भारतं स्मृतम् ॥

(b) Bharata is the nam of a people of great imporance since Rigveda times. Rig. III: 53 12 & 24; VI: 16:4 & 19; VII. 8: 4.

(c) Prachina Caritra Kosha (Marathi) by Chitrava Shastri P. 393.

(d) Vedic Index Vol. II PP. 94-95-96.

2. Rig. I: 32: 12; 32: 8; 35: 8; IV: 28: 1; VIII: 96: 1.

3. Rig. VIII: 24:27. & Vedic Index Vol. II P. 424.

It is but natural that in the primitive stages of the colonization when the population was very limited and untilled and fertile lands were abundent, the colonizers must have preferred such regions to settle and cultivate which were easy for tilling and rich in yielding crops. Such lands can only be the banks of the rivers. These lands are formed by the layers of mud brought thereby yearly floods and we see the grateful Vaidika Aryas praised[4] these rivers at length.

Since these Vaidika Aryas entered Bharata-Khanda, they found it convenient to adopt the method of river-side-colonization, the country being full of rivers.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to make clear what we mean by the term 'colony'. When a portion of a group of people moving aside from the main body leads an independent march to a fresh land and settles there to form altogether a new society to suit politically, socially and culturally the needs and circumstances arising on account oft he climate and new neighbours. Consequently this new society gets a new name and an adjectival form of it as a name for the region it colonizes and also one for the new dialect they adopt there. Whole of this process of colonization is termed here a 'Colony'. The Motto behind this colonization being कृण्वन्ती विश्वमार्यम् ।[5] *i.e.*, to convert the universe to Aryism, result of which was the complete Aryanization of the entire length and breadth of this continent and the name Bharata-Khanda it received, makes it still more clear.

After these adventures had spread all over the regions of the Punjab rivers and reached its south easterly borders, they must have come across Yamuna[6] and Ganga[7] rivers and began settling by the banks of these and their tributories, that is Gomati[8] and Sarayu[9] which are mentioned in the Rigveda. The second colony commenced when these people reached Yamuna and Ganga and continued till they reached Varanasi (Benares) the third between Gomati and Sarayu, thus reaching the eastern part of Bharata-Khanda. That all these rivers have been recorded in the Rigveda, shows that these colonies came into being when the Rigveda was being composed. The Rigveda does not mention the regional names of the two later colonies, which we will find when we will peep into the history of their spoken languages. These three colonies mark the march of the Vaidika Aryas right from the north-western boundary of the country to that of the eastern. Reason of

4. Rig. X:75; III:33 & VII 75.
5. Rig IX: 63: 5.
6. & 7 Rig. X: 75: 5.
8. Rig. X: 75:6.
9. Rig. IV; 30·18.

this easy progress was abundence of rivers suppling water and mud twice a year enriching the soils lying on both their banks, to yelid crops in greater quantity and quality with less efforts.

Now to come to the story of how the fourth colony came into being. The adventurers of the second colony while moving further by the banks of Yamuna, met Carmanvati[10] merging into it some miles east of Agra It is but natural that some of the colonizers must have preferred going by the banks of this new river. This new river springing up in the Vindhya Mountains in Dhar state has travelled in the north easterly direction through C.I., Raja-putana and U. P. and meets Yamuna. Its path while in Malwa is normally soily but as it enters Rajaputana which is full of rocky and barren lands, till it reaches U. P. districts. Unfortunately for the colonizers, their course was not so comfortable as that of the Punjab and U. P. The result was that instead of making a settlement there they had to proceed further on their march till they met another river Ksipra,[11] the banks of which were fertile and climate was normal to settle down. This is Avanti Desha where they commenced creating their fourth colony. After the colonization of Avanti might have been complete, it seems, that two of its branches preferred two different directions to reach freash regions. One went to the south below Vindhya and the other crossed Aravali and marched to the west. The first Branch has succeeded in crossing Narmada river and Vindhya mountain[12] and colonized Asmaka and Vidarbha and created a colony in Daksinapatha. This new colony to the south of Vindhya extended upto Godavari.[13] It seems, from the references given below that the colonization of the Vaidika Aryas that reached upto Godavari was in its process, when Vaidika Literature was being composed. These references are rather indirect. They are :—The Carmasiras,[14] an Acharya of etymology, may have some connection with the name Carmanvati river, references to which we find in the second century[15] of the Shakaera. The river Ksipra and Daksinapada[16] seem to have been referred in the Rigveda, Vidarbha and Reva river have been referred to as Revottaras[17] and in Vaidarbhiya Bhimaya[18] and Vaidarbhi Kondanya[19] in the Satapatha and Aitareya Brahmanas, and the formation of the word Godavari seems to have been based

10. Natya Shastra XVII; 62.
11. Rig. IV: 8: 8.
12. Mahabharata. III: 58: 20 to 22 (B. O. R. I. Ed.).
13. Ind. Aut. Vol. XXX P. 273 Foot Note 17.
14. (1) Nighantu III: 15. (2) Prachina Caritra Kosha (marathi) by Chitrava Shastri P. 182
15. Natya Shastra of Bharata Muni is assigned to 2nd Century of the Shakaera.
16. Rig. X; 61: 8.
17. Satapatha Brahmana XII: 8: 1: 17 and 9: 3: 1.
18. Aitaraya Brahmana VII: 34: 9.
19. Shatapatha Brahmana XIV: 5: 5: 22.

on the Vaidika usages, such as Satavari and Vibhavari etc. The name Narmada will be found referred to in Khila Sukta[20] of Rigveda. The regional names such as Avanti, Koshla, Kalinga, Asmaka,[21] Vindhya, Riksha, Daksinapatha[12] are found referred to in Mahabharata, Ramayana and Astadhyayi.

The second branch of the colonizers of Avanti Desha have taken recourse to the passes of Aravali mountains *via* Dohad[24] to reach Anarta Desha and settle on the banks of the rivers Mahi, Sabaramati and latter on continued colonizing the Sapta-Kokana[25] *i.e.* Aparanta Desha, the long strip of land between the sea and Sahyadri ranges through the beds of Narmada, Tapi, Damanganga and several streams flowing between them The colonization stretched up to Gokarna and Mangalore and further south. This seems to be the post Vaidika colonization and therefore not found referred to in Vaidika Literature.

An of shoot of Sind colonizers have, it seems, come down to Kachha and Saurashtra,[26] and met and mixed with those who hāve gaone there from Anarta. Similarly some, seem to have gaon there by sea from Sind.[27]

Now comming back to Viarbha colony we find that some have gaon from there to Kosala and Kalinga[28] and further on to Andhra or Triling Desha.

Those who have reached Godavari have on its banks colonized Nasikya, Petanika and Muluka[22] and further south between Krishna and Tungabhadra Karnataka and Kuntala.

Upto Tungabhadra we find Aryan Domination from cultural, social and racial points of view as well as from the point of the modes of living.

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20. Rig. Khila Sukta II: 10.
21. Panini's Ashtadhyayi IV: 1: 170 to 176. Kalinga 170, Kosala 171, Asmaka 173, Avanti 176.
22. Sutta Nipata by Dr. Bapat P. 143. Bavarin a pupil of Buddha left Kosala, came to Asmaka and went to Maghadha via Mahisatti. Ujjaini and Vidisha.
23 Valmiki Ramayana. Aranya Kanda. Adhyaya 11.
24. Bom. Gaz. Vol. IX Part 1. Gujarat Population.
25. Bom. Gaz. Vol. IX. Part I, P. 283 Foot Note 5.
26. (1) Bom Gaz. Vol. Ix. Part I. Page 1 Foot Note 2.
    (2) "Linguistically Kachhi is not an intermidiate langugage between Sind and Gugarat. It is a form of Sindhi with a varying mixture of Gujarati." L. S. I. Vol. I. P I- Page 176. Kachhi is classes with Gujarati.
27. Bodhayana Sutra. I: 2: 4.
    (2) Carmichael Lectures (1918) by Dr. Bhandarkar. Page 23.
28. Mahabharata. III: 58: 20-22. The King Nala is adviced go to Daxinapatha by crossing Vindhya, Satapada and Tapito reach Vidarbha and further on to Kosala which was a part of Vidarbha. Kosal is connected with Kaling (see Ihole Inscription). Of shoots of Marathi are still available in Orisa and Bastar States.

Thus we have seen that the Vaidika Aryas have colonized and dominated and became absolute masters of the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, the U.P., Bihar, Sind, Rajaputana, C.I., Bombay Presidency including Kachha, Kathiwar, C.P., Orisa, Nizam 'State', Portuguese territories on the west coast and Mangalore district of the Madras Presidency and Indian States in between the above mention Provinces.

Before the Vaidika Aryas reached and domiciled this continent. it must have been inhabited by one or more races, which, it seems, have been completely absorbed through marriages and confersion into their fold by these powerful and culturaily advanced new comers. No trace of these has been left behind except some modes of living or religious practices accepted and assimilated by the Vaidika Aryas. Another thing we have to see that the adventurers left unvisited the hilly or mountainous tracts or left the residents of those places undisterbed or the residents of those places who sustained defeat at the hands of the Aryas and refused to be subdued and absorbed, must have fled to the jungles and hills for safty. To-day they are termed as hilly or jungle tribes or aborigines.

A word for Mahisaka or Mahisa-Mandala[29] colony *i.e.* Mysore state. The Vaidika Aryas did dominate this part and were its masters at least upto the beginning of the Shaka era. They might not have been there in great majority but they were masters there. We can judge it from the prevenlence of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages till the period mentioned above.

The local Kannad language of this state got an upper hand over the languages of Vaidika Aryas after the Jains, who reached there by the 3rd century[30] before the Shaka era, made it a vehicle for preching their religion.[31] Even then Sanskrit has still been their religious and cultural language.

History of the spoken languages of Bharata Khanda in its early days will throw more light on this subject and therefore is being given below:-

History of the Spoken languages.

The cultural and literary languages of the Vaidika Aryas were Chanda[32] in the Vaidika days and the Sanskrit in the Upnisadak and later days. These being academic remained in changed while they

29. Mysore = Mhisha-Ura and hence Mahisha Mandal or Machishaka.
30. Mysore Gaz. Vol. II Part II (1930 Ed.) Page 401 to 404.
31. A Jaina Monk Shrutakevaling and Asohk went to Srvaana Belagola and established the ten biggest religious centre there.
32. Chulla Vagga (Oldenberg. 1880 Ed.) Ch. V. Sec. 13 page 139.

had spoken dialects which were used for practical purposes. These were therefore subject to undergo changes from time to time and from pleace to place and caste to caste. These dialects were corrupt forms of the Chanda or Sanskrit languages. These corrupt forms of speech are found termed as Mleccha[33] in Satapatha Brahmana which is dated as 3100 years[34] before the Shaka era. Apabhasa, and Apasabda[35] in Patanjala Mahabhasya as Alpiyamsah Sabdah and Apabhramsah[36] in Sayana Charya Krita Rigveda Bhasyopakramanika and got the name Prakrita in Paniniya Siksa and also ranked as holy as Sanskrita as :—

प्राकृते संस्कृते चापीस्वय प्रोक्ता स्वयंभुवा ॥

These Prakrit forms of speeches are deeply associated to a great extent with the procces of shaping the history of the above named colonies, so much so that through the sources of these we are able to determine their extent and their names. The Prakrit forms of speeches and came into existance in the regions where these were used in daily life. That these Prakrits reached litrary stages, can be presumed from their grammars required to be written to avoid incorrect uses. The first of their is written by Vararuchi of the 6th century[37] before the Shaka era and discribes four Prakrits, namely Paisaci, Sauraseni, Magadhi and Maharashtri. It is clear from their names that these are adjectival forms of the names of the regions where these have been brought into being, by the people residing there. Thus Paisaci[38] was the language spoken in Pisacha Desha by the Pisaccha people. Similary there were Surasena and Magadha and Maharashtra Countries where the other three Prakrits were spoken by the pecple of these regions.

Although Sanskrit could not maintain its position as a spoken language of the masses, it remained alive but unchanged as a religious and classical language and will continue to be so forever.

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33. Shatapath Brahmana III: 2: 1: 23 & 24.
34. (1) Ind. Aut. XXXIV Page 245. (2) Dnyana Kosha (marati) by Dr. Ketakar Vol. 2 page 409 (Appendix A. page 1 & 2).
35. Patanjala Mahabhashya (Nirnay Sagar Press. 1917. Ed.) Vol. I p. 26.
36. Sayana (Calcutta 1925 Ed.) page 69.
37. (a) Cowell (preface to Prakrit Prakash Editor by Dr. P. L; Vaidya page VI. (b) Wilson 9 Introduction to his Sanskrit Dictionary page VI and IX.). (c) Sir Bhandarkar (Commemoration Vol. III History of the Deccan P. 55.). (d) Dr. Ketakar (Prachin Maharashtra Vol. I. P. 258-63.)
38. मागध्यावान्तिजा प्राच्या शौरसेन्यार्धमागधी ॥
पैशाची दक्षिणात्याच तत्तद्देशेषु भाष्यते ॥
भाव प्रकाश, नवमाधिकार

(2) P, 194 Dr. Gune's Introduction to comparative Philology. Bombay University Post-Graduate Lectures (1916-17).

(3) P. 71 Sir Bhandarkar's Philological Lectures.

Prakrits are living languages and have undergaon changes from time to time and have shaped into regional and caste dialects. This we find in the dramas and grammers.

This is the reason why the Prakrits and not Sanskrit and have provided us sources, to distinguish colony of the Vaidika Arya from another.

Thus we have seen that the Vaidika Aryas had colonized and Aryanized in majority the Provinces mentioned above. Now we will see what happened in the remaining parts *i.e.* Bengal, Assam and Madras Presidency where the Vaidika Aryas did go but in minority, resulting in racial and cultural admixture of the new comers with those of the former residents.

The colonizers in these three provinces have adopted Vaidika religion and Sanskrit as their religious and cultural language.

But as to the spooken languages the results are different. In Bengal and Assam the colonizers were strong enough to maintain their Prakrit dialects and therefore we find Bengali and Assamese are of springs of Maghadhi.

The tale of the colonizers of the Madras Presidency is abnormal. They have there four different colonies with four different branches of Dravidian languages *i.e.* Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tamil.

The speakers of Telugu went to Trilinga or Andhra *via* Odra or Kalinga where the Vaidika Aryas have gone through Vidarbha and Kosala.[28] The speakers of the Kanarese went to Karnataka *via*, Kuntala and Mahisa-Mendale Desha.[39]

The speakers of Malayalam went to Malayala Desha or Malbar through Aparanta[40] or Sapta-Kokana,

And those of the colonizers who were on the fore fronts of those three colonies nemely Trilinga, Karnataka and Malbar might have join together to create a new society in Tamil Nad and the present day residents of this Nad are seen speaking Tamil Language.

This is the story of the colonization and Aryanization of Bharat-Khanda by Vaidika Aryas.

39. The present Kanarese speaking Districts of the Bombay Presindency and Nizam's Dominion are Ethnically, culturally, Socially and from the point of Modes of Living and methods of Preparing food, and dress as well as in matrimonial relations are one with Maharashtra. and none with those of proper Karnataka i.e. Mysore state and south easterly regions. The language they speak is not their own.

40. It is found that Saurashtra society of Madura went there about Pandya regime from Saurashtra through Apranta taking with them the language of this region namely Marathi and Kokani. This shows the route of colonization along the western coast to the southern most point of Bharata-Khanda.

Life and Mission of Sri Basaveswara from Telugu Sources

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ALTHOUGH Sri Basveswara, the founder of Vira Saivism lived and worked in the Kanarese country the earliest references to his life and mission are contained in Telugu Literature. This need cause no surprise considering that the Andhra-Karnataka people were almost like one family for many centuries. They had many striking affinities, cultural, literary and social The Telugu and Kanarese languages are nearer to each other then any other Dravidian group of speeches. Even to this day their scripts appear to be similar. Theire was full and free literary intercourse. Poets of either language freely borrowed and imitated the literary models of the other. Sometimes the Telugu-Kanarese people lived under a common Government as under the Vizianagar empire. Naturally the social and religious movements of either people had their echoes at once in the sister nation.

About the time when Sri Basaveswara started his religious and social revolution the Telugu Kanarese people had closely allied Governments. The Telugu country was under the rule of the Kakatiyas who were fast becoming a formidable power in the Dekkan. The Kanarese country now came under the rule of Bijjala of the Kalachuri dynasty. Prola II the Kakatiya King of Anamakonda and Bijjala of Kalyan were partners in the movement for over-throwing the power of the Western Chalukyas. The Kakatiyas were in the beginning the Mahamandaleswaras under the Western Chalukyas and aspired to become independent. Bijjala was the war minister and commander under Tailapa II. The Kakatiya king defeated and took prisoner his Western Chalukyan master. Bijjala conceived the scheme of usurping the throne of the Chalukyas. He was assisted in his design by Prola II of Anamakonda and by Vijayarka, the feudatory ruler of Kolhapur. By 1157 A. D the confederates put an end to the rule of Tailapa at Kalyan and Bijjala seized power. Soon after Prola II seems to have died and was succeeded by Rudradeva. The friendly relations that characterised the Kakatiyas and the Kalachuries continued under Rudra also. Thus the field was favourable for an

exchange of religious and social movements. Sri Basaveswara started his reform mevement from the Kingdom of Bijjala. Soon it spread to the Telugu country also and found ready reception there. King Rudra himself was a follower of Saivism. Though the Andhra country did not go the whole length with Sri Basava's Vira Saiva movement yet it was deeply stirred by it. Thus the political alliance of the rulers of Telugu and Kanarese countries encouraged the spread of the on-rushing social revolution.

Saivism was not new to the Telugu country though the Vira Saiva method was. The worship of Rudra-siva was as old as the Rigveda. Just as the benevolent aspects of nature were attributed to Vishnu the fearful and terrible elements in nature were traced to Rudra who was at the same time credited with many beneficent and healing powers also. These brought him the title of Siva, the auspicious. The Dravidian races were worshippers of Lord Siva at a very early time and scholars are of opinion that they contrubuted much to the development of the idea of God Rudra-Siva. What the religious ideas of the Telugu Country were before the Budhistic period it is not exactly possible to say. There was some form of Siva cult in the worship of the goddess Kali and the Nagas or serpents which were the accessories of Siva. During the early centuries of the Christian era Budhism and Jainism had full hold on the Andhra country. Some of the Andhra Emperors and the Ikshvakus were Budhists in religion. With the return of the country to the paths of Vedic religion the worship of Siva became more and more prominent. Attivarman, the Ananda Gotra King of Kanderapura called himself a worshipper of Sambha in his Gorantla plates. The Vishnukundin monarchs in 5th Century A. D. styled themselves as worshippers of the holy feet of the Lord of Sri Parvata. This was a reference to God Mallikarjuna Siva of Sri Sailam in the Kurnool District. The very name of the Telugu country 'Trilinga Desa' indicates the great partiality which Andhras had for the worship of Siva. 'Trilinga' means the land of three famous Siva Lingas. These are Draksharama in the present East Godavary District. Kaleswaram in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and Sri Sailam in the Kurnool District. They were the oldest centres of Siva worship in Andhra Desa. The Kotappa Konda in Narsaraopet Taluq. Guntur was another ancient Saiva place of pilgrimage. Sri Kalahasti in the Nellore District situated on the banks of the river Svarnamukhi grew to be another famous Saiva centre. Thus when Budhism and Jainism were replaced at a very early period by the worship a Siva in the Andhra country. The Eastern Chalukyas were worshippers of Lord Siva. King Rajanarendra (1022–63 A. D.) under whose patronage Telugu literature first made its emergence, took pride in being a devotee of Siva.

But the Saivism which so far prevailed was of the mild variety. It did not develop or evince any intolerance of the idea of Vishnu or other Gods. But gradually this aspect of Saivism became prominent in the Telugu country under three famous Saiva teachers who were called 'Pandita Trayamu' the three great pandits. These were Sripati Pandita, Manchena Pandita and Mallikarjuna Pandita. They were given the title of Aradhyas i.e. the worshipful teachers. They proclaimed that Lord Siva was the only God to the exclusion of all other Gods including Vishnu. He was accessible to Bhakti, devotional worship only. All devotees of Siva, of whatever caste they might be enjoyed equal social status. Inequalities of caste and birth should not be considered in the fold of the worshippers of Siva. Whoever did not follow the religion of Siva was a Bhavi, and deserved condemnation. No quarter should be asked from him or given to him. Of the three great Saiva Pandits, Sripati Pandita was the earliest. He lived at Bezwada and was the preceptor of Anantapala (1095-1118 A.D.) who was a commander of the Vikarmaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty. It was said of Sripati Pandita that he bore live coals in his cloth in order to prove that there was no God except Lord Siva. The last of these Saiva teachers was Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya who was a contemporary of Sri Basaveswara. He was the author of 'Siva-tattva-sara' a work in Telugu which expounds the principles of the new, exclusive type of Saivism that was coming into vogue in the 12th century A.D.

It was the poet Palkuriki Somanatha who first celebrated the life of Sri Basaveswara in his work 'Basava Purana'. Somanatha wrote his poem in Telugu. He said of himself that he was the pupil of the grandson of one Saiva teacher, Belidevi Vemana Aradhyya who was a friend and close associate of Mallikarjuna Pandita. The Pandit being a contemporary of Basava must have lived about 1160 A. D. Palkuriki Soma wrote another great work 'Panditaradhya charitra' being the life of Mallikarjuna Pandita. Herein he narrated how this Pandit who lived in the Godavary District started on a journey to visit Sri Basaveswara at Kalyan. While he was still on the way news reached him that the founder of Vira Saivism passed away from mortal life. This event is placed at about 1167 A. D. The Pandit also died soon after this. Belidevi Vemana Aradhya was a friend of Mallikarjuna Pandita. The pupil of this grandson might be removed from him by not more than forty or fifty years. This poet Palkuriki Soma might be said to have lived about the beginning of the 13th century. The date assigned to him in the History of the lives of Kannada poets is A.D. 1190. Palkuriki Soma was held in great esteem by Kanarese poets because he was the first to write on the life and mission of Sri Basava. A few scholars have tried of late to bring

down Palkuriki Somanatha to the beginning of the 14th century A.D. on the basis of some popular stories recorded in Telugu Literature. But this attempt is untenable in the light of the evidence furnished by the poet himself that he was the pupil of the grandson of Belidevi Vemana. He could not have been removed from Mallikarjuna Pandita by such a long period as a century and a half. It is interesting to note that Palkuriki Somanatha belonged to the Telanga Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. He is said to have lived in the village of Palkuriki in the Warangal district.

Palkuriki was a great champion of the Vira Saiva faith and did his utmost to popularise that religion through his numerous writings. He was a great poet who wrote with puritanic fervour verses of a torrential nature. At the same time he was a great scholar and was deeply versed in the Vedas and Puranas. He was a Brahman at first though afterwards he seems to have renounced Brahmanism as it was inconsistent with his Vira Saiva Faith. Not content with describing the life of Sri Basava in his purana, Palkuriki Soma celebrated him in another work of his, the 'Vrishadhipa Sataka'. Besides he wrote some works in Sanskrit expounding the tenets of Vira Saivism.

As to his sources of information about the life of Basava, the poet said that he drew inspiration from popular songs of the devotees of Basava. Once on the sacred Sri Saila mountain, there gathered several important Vira Saiva teachers. In that assembly were men like Karasthali Somanathayya who received the favour of Mallikarjuna Pandita. Palkuriki Soma addressed himself to this assembly and requested them permission to compose Basava Purana. From them he learnt the incidents of the life of Basaveswara. Thus Somana had access to sources of information which were nearly contemporary. Still it being an age when men freely believed in miracles and supernatural powers the life of Basava as narrated by Somanatha is full of miraculous incidents. We have to carefully sift the evidence placed before us and we do get much information which is of historical value.

Somanatha introduced into his main narrative stories of numerous Saiva devotees old and new. For some of them he seems to have relied upon the Tamil Periyapurana which describes the lives of Tamil Saivaite Saints. Saivism had made great strides in the Tamil country from 7th century A.D. onwards under the lead of poet Saints like Tirujnana Sambandur.

According to Basava purana once the great Rishi Narada went to the audience of Lord Siva and informed him that several religions ruled the earth but that people neglected the worship of Siva. The sage requested the Lord to send his messenger on the

earth so that he might inspire the people in Saivaism. The Lord at once deputed his chief follower Nandikeswara to be born upon the earth and revive the religion of Siva. Accordingly Nandikeswara was born as a son to the pious Brahmin couple. Mandega Madiraja and his wife Madamba. They lived in the village of Hinguleswara Bhagavati in the Kannada country west of Sri Sailam. The child was named Basava which means the sacred Bull, the vehicle of Lord Siva. From very early childhood Basava gave indications of devotion to Siva. At the age of eight his father wanted to perform the Upanayana ceremony to Basava which alone would entitle a Brahmin to begin the study of the Vedas. Precocious lad that he was Basava refused to undergo the ceremony and argued with his father thus "How do you talk of this ceremony. How did you become so ignorant being a worshipper of Lord Siva. Having accepted the Lord himself as Guru is it not a sin to choose earthly preceptors. Having learnt the Saiva Mantra which destroys all sins is it not unwise to repeat other formulas. How can we bow to wicked men who are like untouchables with the same hands that are dedicated to the obeisance of Siva. Do your wish to bind with ties of Brahmanism one who has broken all bonds of caste. How can one be a Brahmin and a Bhakta at the same time. The Brahmin worships several deities. If he be a devotee of Siva he can never do this. The Brahmin follows the path of Karma and we break the bonds of Karma". The argument went on spiritedly like this and child Basawa renounced parents and his home and went away into the wide world proclaiming his revoluntionary views.

He was accompanied by his sister Nagamba. When Basava left home his uncle Baladeva Dandanayaka who came to witness the initiation ceremony, was taken aback with surprise at the fortitude of the boy. He at once decided to give his daughter Gangamba in marriage to Basava. Baladeva Dandanayaka had previously taken a vow not to give his daughter to any one who was not a staunch Saiva. He was the Minister to King Bijjala of Kalyan. The marriage of Sri Basava with Gangamba was celebrated with great fervour and all Saivas rejoiced immensely at the incident. Then the young couple and Basava's sister Nagamba proceeded to pay homage to Lord Sanganaswara of Kudali. Kudali was the confluence of the rivers Tungabhadra and Krishna. Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar considers that this Kudali was the joining place of Krishna and Malaprabha. Lord Siva of this place was the patron God of Sri Basava. The Lord made his appearance to Basaveswara and exhorted him with a divine message "Oh Basava, never desert the path of devotion. The faults of the devotees of Siva you must consider as virtues only and not as evil deeds. If one bears a Linga on his body treat him as a friend even if he were

an enemy. Never break the oaths and disciplines you have undertaken. The true path is not to enquire into the caste of Bhaktas. Those wicked men who denounce Siva must be killed by you as veritable death. If Bhaktas offend you, curse you or even beat you take it as a favour. If you cast evil glances on the women folk of others Oh Basava, I will be really cross with you. You must reject every kind of food which is not the offering to devotees. Praise the Jangamas heartily and treat them as my incarnations. Think of us when you are in mortal difficulty. At all times, Oh Basava, do not transgress the path of truth".

Having received the divine command Basava was spending time in the temple of the Lord when duty called him to the court of Kalyan. Bijjala's Minister Baladeva died and the king looked out for his successor. His advisers suggested the name of his nephew and son-in law Basava. The king readily agreed and sent messengers to fetch his young minister from Kudali. He received him with great cordiality and made him his prime minister. Sri Basava is often called Dandanayaka by Palkuriki Soma. Possibly he was also the commander of the King. Not only that Basava seems to be the high treasurer of Bijjala for one of his favourite titles was 'Bandari Basava' i. e. Basava the treasurer. In those days the position of the prime Minister carried with it the command of the royal forces and presiding over the treasury. In his very first audience with the King, Basaveswara did not mince words and said to him 'It is not too much for great Lord Siva to take care of your Kingdom. But oh king you must always show deference to the devotees of Siva and be humble to them'. That was the crux of the problem. Basava could speak gently and sternly as ministership was not of his seeking. This demand was going to put a severe strain upon the relations of King and minister in future. Basaveswara made the palace of his uncle Baladeva Dandanayaka the seat of his high office. He soon made a name as a great and successful minister and the prosperity of Bijjala grew under his wise care.

Little is known about the domestic life of Basaveswara. Indeed it must have been one of utter simplicity and devotion to Lord Siva. He wanted nothing for himself. He was lavish in giving to the Bhaktas. He gave away everything which he possessed for the cause of the Jangamas i. e. Saiva devotees. Basava lived very little for himself and mostly for the brotherhood of Saivas. His mission to spread the cult of Vira Saivism was the be all and end all of his life. Basaveswara had an impressive personality. Young in age, charming in personality, resolute in purpose, deep in humility and self-negation, he naturally won the sympathies of the masses of people. He mixed freely with them. He preached and practised the doing away with all caste-barriers.

That made him immensely popular with the low and the down-trodden. The working class people, the artisans, the Vaisyas all flocked to his banner eagerly and embraced Vira Saivism. The outward symbols of this were the wearing of the sacred Linga on the body, be-smearing the body with holy ashes i. e. 'Vibhuti', wearing garlands of beeds, last but not least the carrying of a sword. For the Saivism which Basaveswara propagated was of the militant type. It brooked no opposition. Where learned argument failed the sharp edge of the sword was used to enforce conviction in the case of wilful traducers. Sri Basaveswara himself carried on his body the sacred sword which was called 'Lingapasayita' (sanskrit Linga-prasadita) i.e. given by the Linga Vira Saivism inspired the devotees to appaling acts of self-mortification or sometimes to acts of mere bravado. A devotee must be ready to give and take life without hesitation. Basaveswara's living was the very embodiment of the courageous but gentle Vira Siva devotee. His very presence inspired reverence, humility and devotion to Lord Siva in the lowest of people. Many are the stories narrated about Sri Basava converting men to his faith by his mere appearance.

Basava's sister Nagamba stood by him through thick and thin. She had a son by name Chenna Basava. He afterwards became the right hand man of Basveswara in spreading the Vira Saiva faith. In fact he was considered even superior to his uncle in theological matters. The birth of Chenna Basava was unnecessarily shrouded in mystery. The Saivas must have helped to do this in order to make Chenna Basava an extraordinary and God sent hero. The Jainas who were the opponents of the Vira Saivas twisted these wild stories to suit their own needs in blackening the character of Basava's sister. They wrote that Nagambika bore the son by promiscuous relations. It is unthinkable that a high souled woman like Nagambika would stoop so low as alleged by jains. Unfortunately in Indian history the fond method of attributing extraordinary relations to great men by unthinking devotees has done more harm than good to their characters and the causes for which they lived and died. The Basava Purana is wisely silent about the birth of Chenna Basava.

The public activities of Sri Basveswara though utterly sincere were calculated to strain his relations with his king. The Basava Purana mentions some of his vows which must have influenced his policies. "The vow to celebrate each day as a Sivaratri ; the vow not to look into the faults of Bhaktas nor to speak sternly to them ; the vow not to refuse any money that was asked of him ; the vow not to deceive in the least ; the vow to speak out what he thought fearlessly and to act up to what he spoke ; the vow not to belie his own plighted word ; the vow not to look with evil eyes at the

women of others ; the vow not to desire the wealth of other men ; the vow to destroy other cults and to root out those who denied Vira Saiva Faith ; the vow not to salute a Bhavi *i.e.*, one who is not a Vira Saiva devotee ; the vow not to have any give and take with him ; the vow not to yield to bodily passions". Basaveswara lived upto this stern code and did not mind making enemies in following his path. His relations with the Jangamas *i.e.*, Vira Saiva preachers came in for a lot of criticism. It was one of his vows to tolerate anything from them and overlook their excesses. A Jangama to him was Lord Siva incarnate. The Gods cannot be called to account for their deeds. Some of these Jangams did not live high moral lives as Basveswara did. There grew up in Kalyan a class of profligate Saiva preachers called 'Minda Jangams'. Some of the stories concerning them might be only fictions, invented in order to prove the extreme respect that Basava had for the Jangam class. There is a story that the leader once ordered his wife to give up her Sari in the open court to a profligate Jangam who asked for it in order to present it to his low mistress.

But far more dangerous than the Minda Jangams were some of the prominent colloboraters of Sri Basveswara. These were Vira Saiva devotees who were resolute men but extremely narrow in vision. They made life very hot for other citizens. The Jains of Kalyan were generally the targets of their high handed behaviour. King Bijjala had some leanings towards Jainism. The Chenna Basava Purana calls him a Jain by religion. Vira Saiva Bhaktas usually took some extraordinary vows, viz. not to have anything to do by way of social relations with non-Vira Saivas whom they denounced as Bhavis. It appears that Basveswara himself would not allow any one into his inner court who did not wear the Linga on one's body. Vira Saivas like Ekanta Ramayya. Kinnara Brahmayya, Madivalu Machayya broke the law of the state freely and disturbed the peace of the subjects of Bijjala. Ekanta Ramayya made a fearful wager to offer his head to prove that Siva is the only God. He performed this miraculously and regained his head each time he cut it off. At the end of the wager he caused many Jaina temples to be raised to the ground. Madivalu Macha was a washerman. He vowed that he would not wash the clothes of any except Vira Saivas. Not only that, he vowed that no Bhavi should cross his path when he returned with ironed clothes. If one should be so unfortunate as to come in his way he would kill him on the spot. One day he put into practice his terrible vow on an innocent passerby The king having come to know of it sent his officers to arrest him. Madivalu killed all of them and slew the king's elephant. Enraged at this Bijjala sent for Sri Basaveswara and remonstrated with him on the high handedness of his adherents. Minister Basava supported the

action of Machayya and argued that Vira Saivas could not brook the violation of their vows. Though a forced reconciliation was made the relations of King and Minister were embittered.

Genius though he was in organisation Sri Basaveswara fell into the common error of identifying his religious brotherhood, with the whole State. He set one section of the people, the Vira Saivas above the state altogether and was forgetful of the rights of other citizens. Like Thomas Becket the Minister of Henry II of England he placed the religious community over the civil. Thus he sowed the seeds of disruption of the Kalachuri State. King Bijjala appears to be on the whole a constitutional monarch. He observed the harm, being done to his kingdom and subjects by Basava's policies but did not dispense with his Minister. Sri Basaveswara was already a great force to count wirth in the state and the King dared not oppose him.

More than the religious tenets of Vira Saivism the social revolution effected by Basaveswara took his non-Saiva contemporaries by surprise. Even from his childhood the great reformer condemned caste distinctions and actively lived upto his ideal in his life. He encouraged interdining amongst the Vira Saivas. The Prasada *i.e.* food offered to the Jangams was considered sacred and Vira Saivas were enjoined to take prasada from the lowest irrespective of caste. In fact it was a positive sin to enquire about the caste of a Bhakta. True to his ideal Sri Basaveswara had among his close followers a devotee of the untouchable class named Siva Nagamayya. The great minister of the state openly went out in the streets of Kalyan hand in hand with Siva Nagamayya. The non-Saivas were shocked and complained to the King that his minister was trying to introduce 'Varna Sankara' destroying caste regulations and that he ate in the dishes of the lowest people. Bijjala sent for Basava and remonstrated with him where upon the religious leader replied in his fiery way. Having referred in scorn to the ways of the Brahmins in trying to lift up some low people into a higher casts for the sake of money he continued "These are the real untouchables who call Bhaktas as Paraihs. How do you heed their words. Who made these caste distinctions, the Vedas or some fate above. There are only two classes according to the Veda the 'Pravartaka and Nivartaka'. Pravartakas are those who believe in Karma etc. Nivartakas are the devotees of Siva. Hence the so called eighteen castes are but the creations of yesterday. How can you compare a Vira Saiva devotee to a Bhavi. Can the village pig match the mighty elephant. Not all Brahmins put together can equal great Siva Nagamayya". Basava silenced criticism by showing some miracle,

Sri Basaveswara worked many such miracles in his life. His followers were not behind him in this respect. In fact that was the argument par excellence with the men of the day and Basava often pressed it into use. Seeing his extraordinary ways and perhaps jealous of his influence other ministers complained to the king against Basaveswara that he squandered away state money on his profligate Jangams. The king called his minister to render an account which Basava did by his miraculous powers and the state money was in tact to the last pie. Basava's stern code for the Maheswaras led to a quarrel with a class of people of Kalyan called the Boyas. They had some strength in the state. According to former tradition they were entitled to partake of the food offered in the temples to God Siva Basaveswara ordered that it should not go to them as in his opinion those who were not Vira Maheswaras had no right to touch the food dedicated to Siva. A quarrel ensured and the Boyas petitioned the King to restore their customary rights. Basaveswara was adamant. If these men wanted to partake of the Lord's food they must be equally prepared to partake of everything offered to Lord Siva. He would that day offer poison to the Lord as Nivedya. "Are these men ready to taste this food" he said. The Boyas rashly replied that if Basava would taste it himself they would follow suit. Then the great Basaveswara rose to the height of his indignation, got all deadly poisons to be compounded into one draught. He offered it to the Lord and drank it without hesitation. It appears that by his miraculous powers he made hundreds of his followers partake of this dish of poison and all of them remained safe. The rude Boyas trembled at this and withdrew their petition.

The gulf between King and minister yawned deeper and deeper as time passed. Perhaps each wanted to get rid of the other by fair or foul means. The cup of dissensions was filled when King Bijjala took drastic action against two of the followers of Basava whom he caused to be blinded for some unknown offence. Where upon Sri Basaveswara decided to forsake the city of Kalyan as a city unfit for Vira Maheswaras. The Basava purana does not say whether the King consented to it. Poessibily he felt relieved at the prospect of being rid of the dangerous element in the state. Sri Basaveswara uttered a curse against the city of Kalyan that it would soon lie in ruins and departed thence accompanied by his Vira Saiva Bhaktas. Clever politician that he was Basawa pre-arranged the Drama of destruction to be enacted in Kalyan after his departure. There was one powerful commander in the state named Jagadeva Dandanayaka. He once offended Basaveswara by feeding the Brahmins before Basava arrived for a dinner. The leader was all wrath with him. When Jagadeva entreated Basava for pardon he enjoined him 'Shortly there will grow up treason in this city against Siva. You

should kill the enemy of Siva which will be sufficient atonement for this present sin. This is a work dear to the heart of Vira Saiva Bhaktas".

Soon after Sri Basaveswara left Kalyan, a pall of gloom set over the city. There were ominous scenes that betokened impending doom to the place. Many a supernatural warning came to the inhabitants. Most of them left the town in hot haste. There was tumult in the city but the cause was unknown. There was panic every where. Jagadeva Dandanayaka still hesitated to seize the opportunity to execute the work entrusted to him by Basava. But the commander's mother, an old lady, rebuked him on his vacillation. Jagadeva summoned courage and went to Bijjala's court one night accompanied by some others. In the open hall they attacked the king and killed him with their swords. That was the signal for bloody acts in Kalyan and a political revolution. Perhaps the Jains and the remnants of Vira Saivas started a communal war and soon the smiling city of Kalyan lay writhing in blood and tears. Thus was the curse of Basaveswara fulfilled in dread earnest. The Basava Purana says that the sons of Bijjala fought amongst themselves for the Kingdom and died in the revolution. But history speaks otherwise. The sons of Bijjala did continue to rule for some time longer Bijjala was killed about 1167 A. D. Someswara and Sankama the sons of Bijjala ruled their kingdom upto 1182 A. D. and after that the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct. The Yadavas from the north and the Hoyasalas from the south appropriated their dominions.

About the time that Kalyan was in the fell grip of internal revolution Sri Basaveswara retired to his favourite Lord, Kudali Sangameswara. Having listened to the destruction of Kalyan Basaveswara decided to depart this mortal body and prayed to Lord Sangameswara to call him back to him. The Lord listened to his prayer and Sri Basaveswara, the great prophet was taken into the body of Lord Kudali Sangama. His devout friends uttered this funeral speech on him "Just as the whirl wind is born and melts away in the wind Sri Basaveswara is born in the Lord and entered the Lord. Like the roaring wave in the ocean he entered the ocean of the Lord".

The Telugu BasavaPurana of Palkuriki Somanatha is thus the earliest literary record about the life of great prophet Sri Basaveswara. It is fairly historical and stands to the test of modern criticism Telugu Basava Purana was translated into the Kanarese language by one Bhimakavi in the later half of the 14th century A. D. There is another Basava Parana in Telugu but it is only Palkuriki's works put into a new garb, the metre only

differing. By the time this was written even Palkuriki Somanatha became on object of worship and dovotion. Miraculous powers came to be attributed to him also. The Jains left an account of King Bijjala and the name of the work is Bijjala-raya-charita. The testimony of the Jains would be naturally hostile to the life and mission of Sri Basaveswara. They represented him as having fled to the wrath of King Bijjala and that he was pursued by his son. Palkuriki Soma paid a tribute to Basaveawara in his Pandita-radya-charita also.

Was the life of Basaveswara a historical fact? There need be no doubt on this score. The very existence of the Lingayat brotherwood is a living testimony to the work of Sri Basava. Srangely there is no inscriptional evidence to the personality of so phnomenal a personage as Basava. Yet one of his close associates named Ekanta Ramayya was mentioned in the Abluru inscription dated 1195 A.D, The miracle of his cutting off of his head and regaining it was narrated in this inscription. Among the contemporaries of Sri Basava may be mentioned Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya. The Pandit's Siva-tattva-Sara refers to the feat of Basava in drinking poison and remaining safe. In matters of philosophy Vira Saivism approaches the Visista Advaita, the system of qualified monism The Saiva teachers of Andhradesa were unwilling to give up the Vedas and the system of caste. The words of Pandit Mallikarjuna were characteristic. He is reported to have exclaimed, "Oh Basava Linga! I cannot renounce Bhakti, neither can I part company from Brahminhood".

ROMAN TRADE WITH THE DECCAN

BY

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THE object of this paper is to show that in the last quarter of the first century B.C. and in the first quarter of the first century A.D. there was close commercial contact between the Deccan and the Roman Empire. The Roman Emperor in whose reign this commercial intercourse took place was the well-known Octavius, better known as Augustus. He ruled from August the 19th B.C. 19 till August the 19th A.D. 14.[1]

THE EARLIEST LITERARY EVIDENCE ABOUT the intercourse between the Deccan and the Roman world during the reign of Emperor Augustus is in the GEOGRAPHY of Strabo. This native of Amasia in the interior of Pontus, was contemporary of that monarch as well as of Emperor Trajan.[2] In Book XV Strabo writes thus "The merchants of the present day who sail from Egypt to India by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf have seldom made a voyage as far as the Ganges. They are ignorant men and unqualified for writing an account of the places they have visited. From one place in India and from one king, Pandian, but according to other writers, Poros, there came to Caesar Augustus gifts and an embassy accompanied by the Indian Sophist who committed himself to the flames at Athens, like Kalanos, who had exhibited a similar spectacle in presence of Alexander."[3]

In a later context Strabo, citing the author Nikolaos Damaskenos, writes the following :—"This writer says that at Antioch by Daphne (which was a famous sanctuary of Apollo in the city of Antioch, the capital of Syria), he met with the Indian, who had been sent to Augustus Ceasar. It appeared from the letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Poros was the writer, and that though he was the severeign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Caesar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage whenever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any

1. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, P. 364 (Lond. 1893).
2. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, P. 6.
3. McCrindle, *ibid*, pp. 9—10.

good enterprise. Such, he says, were the contents of the letter. Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were brought. They had girdles encircling their waists, and were fragrant with ointments". We are told in this account that they were accompanied by "Zarmanochegas," a native of Baragosa, who died on the funeral pyre, as mentioned above, at Athens. [4]

The Indian ambassador is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Emperor Augustus thus :—"The Indians also, and the Scytians, who were known only by report, he attracted to solicit voluntarily, through ambassador, the friendship of himself and the Roman people". [5]

Florus, another Roman historian, towards the end of his EPITOME OF ROMAN HISTORY, mentions the same embassy thus :—"For both Scythians and the Sarmatians sent ambassadors begging our alliance. The Seres also and the Indians who live under the Sun, together with jewels and precious stones, bringing elephants also amongst their presents, reckoned so much an obligation laid upon the Emperor, as the length of their journey, which they had finished in four years, and notwithstanding the complexion of the men showed that they came from another climate". [6]

The date of this embassy cannot be fixed from the above accounts. The age when Strabo wrote his famous GEOGRAPHY cannot be determined. All that we know is that he lived also in the reign of Emperor Trajan in A.D. 21, and that he may have died three years later in A.D. 24. [7] Suetonius' account is placed by McCrindle in circa 21. [8] Florus wrote in the days of Emperor Trajan. [9]

The exact date of the Indian embassy, however, is given by Dion Cassius in his HISTORY OF ROME in the following words :—"Numerous embassies came to him (Emperor Augustus at Samos, B.C. 21), and the Indians having first proclaimed a league of amity with him, obtained its ratification, and presented to him, besides other gifts, with tigers also animals seen there for the first time by the Romans, and if I mistake not, even by the Greeks............"[10]

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4. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 78 the Indian is identified by McCrindle with Srawanacarya, a native of Bhroach. *Ibid*, p. 78, n. (2).
5. McCrindle, *Ibid*, p. 78, n. (2)
6. *Ibid*, p. 78, n. (2).
7. *Ibid*, p. 6.
8. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 78. n. (2).
9. *Ibid*, p. 213.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 79, 212.

But Dion Cassius was not a contemporary wiriter, since he was born in about A.D. 155, and since in his HISTORY OF ROME the events till A.D. 229 are mentioned.[11] This latter fact might enable us to assign his work to about A.D. 2 ͜ o.

Whatever our difficulty in fixing the exact date of the Indian embassy to the Roman Emperor Augustus, we may note the articles which the Indian king is reputed to have sent to the Roman Emperor. Florus mentions, among other things, jewels and precious stones,[12] while Dion Cassius, as given above, tigers. Neither precious stones nor tigers could be said to have been specialities of northern India. Hence we have to dispense with the idea that, notwithstanding the name Porus of the Indian king, who is said to have sent the embassy to Emperor Augustus, the presents could ever have come from northern Indian. It is more probable that it was a monarch of the Deccan who sent the embassy to the Roman ruler. This will be evident fiom the identification of one kind of precious stones sent to Emperor Augustus, about which we have evidence in the BIBLE and in the writings of Pliny.[12] But before I describe this article of trade, I may mention that the identity of the Indian king, who sent an embassy to Emperor Augustus, cannot be made out for the present for want of sufficient historical data. It is not unlikely that that Indian monarch of the Deccan may have been a ruler of the Andhrabhritya or the Satavahana House.

The most unique precious stones which enable us to assign the Deccan trade with Rome to the reign of the Emperor Augustus are the beryls and the opals. About the beryl, the following is mentioned in the BIBLE. This is in connection with the Prince of Tyrus. "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy coverning, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emrald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipies was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created".[14]

Pliny in his NATURAL HISTORY (Book XXXVII) writes thus–"The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryls that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which they prefer to wear without gold; and hence, after piercing them, they string them upon elephant bristles. It is agreed that these beryls which are of perfect quality

11. *Ibid*, p. 212.

12. *Ibid*, p. 78, n. (2).

13. McCrindle, disposes off the view that two different embassies were sent to Emperor Augustus, as recorded by the unreliable historian Orosins. McCrindle, *ibid*, p. 79. n.

14. Ezekiel, XXIII, 13. This was first pointed out by Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, V. p. 237.

should not be perforated, but should merely be clasped at their extremities with circlets of gold. They prefer therefore to cut them into the form of a cylinder rather than to set them as precious since those that are of greatest length are most in fashion, Some are of opinion that beryls are naturally angular, and that piercing them adds to their splendour in consequence of the removal of the white substance within, while the reflection of the gold still further heightens their brilliancy, and their thickness no longer mars their transparency...The Indians by colouring crystals have found a way of imitating a variety of precious stones, especially beryls ".[15]

Now where was this particular region from where the beryls were mined and sent to the Roman Empire ? The answers to this question is to be found in the GEOGRAPHY of Ptolemy, who lived in the middle of the second century A. D. While describing the inland cities between the Pseudostomos and the Baris, he mentions a place called Pounnata, " where is beryl ". [16] This place has been rightly identified by scholars with punnata, an ancient kingdom that is well-known in the history of the Deccan as the Punnata Six-thousand Province. It comprised all the country draining to the river Kabbani or the Kapini in the Heggade-devana taluka in the southern regio of the Mysore State. Its capital was Kirttipura. [17]

The whole kingdom of Punnata, therefore, according to Ptolemy, was celebrated for beryls. To this kingdom be longed a great part of the modern district of Coimbatore, as is proved by the fact that a copper plate of one of the Punnata rulers was found in that district as early as 1883. [18] In the district of modern Coimbatore was a locality of considerable importance, from the point of the trade which the Deccan had with the Roman Empire. This locality is called Padiyur, of Pattiyali, in the Dharapuram taluka of the Coimbatore district. Here, as Walhouse correctly maintained many years ago in 1876, was a mine which produced beruls. [19] This assumption of Walhouse is amply proved by two considerations. Firstly, a large find of Roman coins sufficiently proves that that region traded with the Roman world. [20] Secondly in 1798 a mine of beryls was secretely worked out by the people of Padiyur; and in 1819–20 a European planter having got news of

15. McCrindle, *op cit.* p. 130.

16. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Photncy, P. 180.*

17. On a complete account of this kingdom, read B. A. Saletore, *India Culture*, III, pp. 303-317. Rice, ofcourse, had earlier identified Pounnata of Photency with Punnata in the Mysore State. See his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 10, 146.

18. Sewell, *Indian Antiquary*, XII. p. 13.

19. Walhouse, *Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 237.

20. Walhouse, *ibid.*

this, rented the well, and obtained during one year (1819-1820) 2196 beryls valued at £s 1201. The mine, we are told, became exhausted and water broke in.[21]

Thus both numismatic evidence and their abundant existence in the modern age prove that beryls have been a speciality of Padiyur; and that they were an important article of trade between the Deccan and the Roman Empire. But we have yet to show that the whole of the Punnata region, or a large part of the southern portion of the Mysore State, traded with the Roman Empire during the reign of Emperor Augustus. This is furnished by the many Roman coins gold and silver, called *dinarii* found in the whole region.[22]

But Padiyur seems to have also produced another class os recious stones, which has been noticed by Pliny. He writes thuf 'Opals are atonce very like and very unlike beryls, and are inferior in value to emeralds alone. India, too, is the sole mother of these precious stones, thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems." [23] In a later context, Pliny makes the following observation about the same precious stone called opal. "Paedoros of the finest quality is found in India, where it is called sangenon."[24]

Since opals "are atonce very like and very unlike beryls", it is not imporobable the they were mined in the same region which produced the beryls: Now the name of this locality seemes as given by Pliny is *Paedoros* which is nothing but the Romanized method of expressing the word Padiyur to which the suffix *os* has been added, as in other instances. This would mean that Padiyur itself produced beryls as well as opals, both being, according to Pliny, "verylike and very unlike" each other. The whole region called the Punna takindgom, therefore, was known in the Roman world as the locality that produced beryls, while Padiyur itself was celebrated for its opals.

21. Rice,. *Ep. Car.* IV. Inter. p. 4.
22. For details, read *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1909*, p. 30; *ibid for 1910*, p. 44 *ibid for 1922*, p. 22.
23. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
24. *Ibid*, p. 134.

A Calukyan Patron of Northern Buddhism A–Note.

BY

R. N. SALETORE, M. A., PH. D., D. LITT.

IN the work entitled *Kau-fa-kao-sang-chuen*, which has been attributed to I-Tsing, who is stated to have translated it during A.D. 700-712,[1] we find the following statement: "To the north-east of the great Bodhi (Gunacarita—the temple just named) about a couple of stages is another temple called Calukya. This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Calukyan kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates In more recent times a king called Jih-Kwan (Sun-Army-Adityasena) built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the south take their residence." From this extract we learn that Hwui Lun, who, according to I-Tsing, appears to have visited the above mentioned holy places, found a Calukyan temple which was built by a Calukyan ruler. The object of this note is to ascertain who possibly this ruler was and in which year this shrine was built. In this connection it has been observed that "there is a curious reference to the Chalukyas and king Jihkwan (Sunarmy[2]) in the extract cited above. I have already explained in another connection the implication of the reference to the Later Gupta ruler Sun-Army (Adityasena) and in this case the reference to the Calukyas can hardly be called "curious" if we examine the political issues concerned.

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1. *I.A.*X, p. 110. *Cf.* Another version of this passage by Beal:— "Two stages to the east of the Mohabodhi (North of the Ganges) is a temple called Kiu-lu-Kia (Beal thought that it stood for the Kurucountry, f.n. 1 Intr. p. XXVI) was built long ago by a king of the Kiu-lu-Ka country, a southern kingdom (Kurukshetra ?) Although poor, this establishment is strict in its teaching. Recently a king called Jih-Kwan, Sun-Army (Adityasena) built by the side of the old temple another which is now nearly finished." Beal, intro. *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, P. XXVI. Beal later corrected the word Kiu-lu-ka to Calukya, as it was known in the seventh century. *Cf. I.A.* VIII, p. 241. The earlier variants of the word were – (a) Calukya – A. D. 578 (I.A.VI, p. 363, (b) Calukya, *I.A.* XIX, p.-16); c (Calukya-)Nerur grant of Mangalesa – undated-(*I.A.* VII, p. 162 also see *Ibid.*, VI, p. 73, XIX, p. 309, IX, pp. 127, 130) ; (d) Calukya-A.D 634-35-*I.A.* VIII, p. 241. For variations in the family name see *I.A.* XX, p. 95; also see Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 336-37. These variants do not give any clue to the assertion that "The Sulikas were probably the Chalukyas...Sulikas may have been another dialectic variant." Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 509, (4th ed.). The Calukyas were never known as the Sulikas nor does the Kannada Language ever offer such a variantion. The Sulikas appear to have been quit a different people altogether. *Cf.*S. Srikanta Sastri, *Sulakas and Mulakas*, *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, no. 2, pp. 178-180.
2. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Aniecent India*, p. 517, f. n. 1.

We are told by I-Tsing that Hwui Lun visited Mahabodhi and there he happened to notice a Calukyan temple which he specifically styles as having been built by a Calukyan ruler of the south, quite a long time before he visited that place. It is admitted that Huwi Lun must have visited Mahabodhi and Nalanda some time in the last quarter of the seventh century.[3] Therefore as he does not specify the precise period when the temple in question was raised, it can only be maintained that it must have been built quite a number of years prior to Hwui Lun's visit to that locality.

We may therefore inquire whether in Calukyan history we can find any ruler who made incursions into the Uttārapatha especially in or around the regions of the Ganges and whether, in the circumstances, the structure concerned could have been built by him. In the Mahakuta pillar inscription we are informed that Kirtivarman I was victorious over the kings of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattura, Magadha and Madraka.[4] Fleet discounted these epithets as mere boasts but not without specifying anygood reason.[5] His successor Mangalesa, another intrepid conqueror, followed in this ruler's inspiring foot-steps and made apparently two successful incursions into the Uttarapatha. Two records tell us quite clearly that Mangalesa made possibly two incursions into the northern regions where he decisively defeated the Kalaccuriya ruler Buddharaja. The Mahakuta inscription, dated the 21st October A.D. 602 reveals to us that the following actions were performed by Mangalesa: "And He (Mangalesa)-having set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region (and) having conquered king Buddha (and) having taken possession of all his substance (and) with an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory of his own prowess on the bank of the river Bhagirathi (Ganges),[6] having determined in (his) mind that in the first place there should be set up the prowess of a pillar of victory of religion."[7] As though in confirmation of the above exploit Mangalesa's undated Nerur grant states that "he (Mangalesa) had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Sankaragana, and who was possessed of the power of elephants, and horses and treasure,"[8] From the above grants we may draw the following

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3. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 69. He places the date of this pilgrim's visit to Magadha in "about 690 A. D."

4. *I. A.* XIX, p. 19.

5. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 344–46. In the circumstances I suggested elsewhere that (See *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 86) if these boasts had any truth in them then possibly Kirtivarman I might have enjoyed some victories over the Gupta emperor Bhanu Gupta *Baladitya* III. Jayaswal surmised that this Calukyan shrine was 'probably' built by Vijayaditya. *Cf.* *Imperial History of India*, p. 69. This view does not appear to be acceptable.

6. *I-A* XIX, p. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

8. *Ibid*, VII, p. 162.

conclusions (a) that in the year A.D. 602 an inscription commemorated the Calukyan king Mangalesa's invasion of Buddha raja's northern regions; (b) that Mangalesa actually went into the Gangetic doab; (c) that he also raised a memorial column of victory in celebration of his triumph over Buddharaja.

Now of course the above mentioned grants do not record the fact that Mangalesa either built or gave any donation to any Buddhist monks but it nevertheless records the important fact that he was definitely the first Calukyan ruler who visited the northern region around the Gangetic delta where he seems to have raised a column of triumph. If this event of Mangales's invasion of the Utterapatha took place in the year A.D. 602, then it is not strange to learn that towards the end of the century we find that a traveller like Hwui Lun should have found a Calukyan donated Buddhist monastery the donor of which was not naturally remembered. It is probable that Mangalesa was the donor of that monastery first, because he was the first, Calukyan monarch who actually went into the Gangetic region; secondly, he seems to have been also a builder, having built a victory pillar on the banks of the Ganges. Of course, it may be stated that he, being a Vaisnavite, might not necessarily have been the donor. To this it may be said that most of the early Gupta emperors, who were the patrons of the celebrated Nalanda monastery, were, not all Buddhists, and on this analogy it need not necessarily be maintained that, though a Vaisnavite, Mangalesa should not be construed to have been the patron of a Buddhist *vihara* in north-eastern India which he visited in all likelihood in or about A. D. 602.

We may therefore inquire whether Mangalesa ever built any Buddhist cave temple at all especially within his own dominions. We know for example from the cave inscription in the verandah of cave No. III that the cave temples at Badami were built in the 12th year of his reign[9] by Mangalesa, namely in *saka* 500–A. D. 578.[10] It is extremely interesting to go note that in this very cave appears a bas-relief, representing the Bodhisattva Padmapani, which is badly injured.[11] If Mangalesa could dedicate a cave temple to the worship of the Buddha in a group of shrines dedicated to Saiva as well as Vaisnava deities,[12] there is no reason why he should not have granted an endowment for the establishment of a Buddhist monastery in northern India.

9. *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *BBRAS*, XIV, p. 23; Telang, *Ibid.*, X, p. 348; *I.A.* VI, pp. 354–66.

10. *I.A.* III, pp. 305–06; *Ibid.*, VI, pp 263–64; *Ibid.*, X, pp. 58–60.

11. For a description of this sculpture see R.D. Banerji, *Mem. A. S. I.*, no. 25, pp. 28–29. (1928).

12. On the eclecticism of the Western Calukyas see Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 338;.

A Glimpse of South India: Sankara to Ramanuja

BY

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HISTORY is not a mere chronicle of kings and queens but an account of a people, their manners and customs, social life, political awakening; and their contribution to the current philosophical thought during a particular period. Two great religious reformers of outstanding eminence, Sri Sankara and Sri Ramanuja furnish the landmarks for obtaining a comprehensive idea of the kind of the intellectual and social life of the people in South India or the Deccan and they have made in themselves a remarkable cantribution to the philosophical thought of the world. This period from about the seventh to the twelfh centuries enables us to obtain a glimpse of South India, during a most progressive phase of its history when giant strides were made in the Hindu religious thought from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Kailasa to Kanchi.

Amongst the most stalwart critics and dissenters of Hinduism and the Vedic religion of the time encrusted with ritual and sacrifice were two centemporary reformers, Gautama Buddha and Mahavira, belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. Buddhism and Jainism in the course of centuries remoulded the Hindu religious thought and modified the Vedic sacrifice and ritual, while Buddhism itself got slowly absorbed into it by Buddha's being recognised as an avatar of Visnu.

Whatever the course of Buddhism in the plains of the Indus and the Ganges, in the Deccan Buddhism was never a serious rival to other religious faiths prevalent in the country. But Jainism attained great infiuence at court and in the country, and the Hindus resolved on renovating their philosophical and religious system in order to re-establish Hinduism on a universally acceptable intellectual basis.

The Gupta Emperors in the North and the Vakatakas in the Deccan took up boldly the cause of Vedic sacrifices and prided in their inscriptions as re-establishers of the Vedic cult of sacrifice and prayer. The mantle of the Vakatakas fell on the early Calukyas of

Badami who delighted in the preformance of Vedic rituals and fighting down, intellectually, rival creeds, for as we know the Gangas and the Kadambas were generous supporters of Jainism in the Deccan. Under the aegis of the Calukyas, Brahmanism took up the defence of the Vedic cult. Kumarila Bhatta the earliest champion of the orthodox religion, lived in the country ruled by the Calukyas and Kumarila's disciple was the great champion of Vedic Hinduism of Sankaracharya who lived in the seventh century beyond any question.

The Calukyan sculptures at Badami, their boar crest and other symbols all tend to confirm that view of the birth of what Sister Nivedita called "Aggressive Hinduism." The Calukyas were stout, staunch Saivites and the Rastrakutas were firm Vaisnavites, including Nripatunga Amogha Varsha, who was a great worshipper of Mahalakshmi.

The Pallavas were championing Hinduism in the South Saint Appar and Sundar and Manicka Vachakar sang through the country the glory of Siva and they crushed mercilessly vestiges of Jainism in the South. Thus Sankara inherited a great tradition, the cause of Vedic religion, modified by the Saivite Bhakti cult in South India.

Sankara took his stand on the Prasthanatraya—the Vedas, the Brahma Sutras, and the Bhagavat Gita, as the bed rock of his philosophy, appealing to the ancient Upanisads for his authority. According to him, Brahman is the universal soul of the world and also a personal God: there is a periodical creation and absorption in the never ending cycle of the creation: but Brahman is unknowable except by concentration on Yoga: there is no plurality of souls: and complete liberation is attained by the soul through Brahman and Him alone. He was a most uncompromising monistic teacher expounding new formulas. While he emphasised on *Jnana* or knowledge of the Supreme sprit as the chief object of man's endeavours here on earth, he did not go to the extent of rejecting all the other means of attaining that purpose. He regarded as unnecessary the Vedic sacrifice and sacerdotalism and shed fresh light on Vedanta. He established several Mutts throughout the country and his work has been carried on after him by his successors. With the practical acceptance and wide adoption of the Bhagavat Gita and its comprehensive philosophy and the Bhaktimarga or the path of love and devotion to God as an open protest against the atheists or the Buddhists, the most prevalent forms of the Vedanta faith were re-consolidated by the co-ordinating ideas.

The Alwars and Nayanars had always laid stress on the doctrine of Bhakti as a means to attain salvation through Visnu or

Siva. Rastrakuta Kings were great Vaisnavites. Rastrakutas with their Garuda symbols were Vaisnavites. Some later Pallava kings were admirers of Vaisnavism as the Vaikunthaperumal temple at Kanchi will testify. Ramanuja was born in the centre of the later Vaisnava Pallavas near Madras. Ramanuja expounded the Visistadvaita philosophy, converted the Hoysala King Bittideva, who became known as Visnu Vardhadana and consecreated the temple at Melkote, etc. and entered Samadhi about 1137 A.D. According to traditional accounts he lived for over 120 years. To the Visistadvaitin as to the Advaitin the Vedas and the smrtis are the sole and independent authority for the knowledge of the Brahman and reason has no operation expect in matters perceptible by the senses. While Sankara accepted the smrtis and srutis as authorities until oneness is realised Ramanuja considered them as always authoritative and as expressive of the eternal commands of the deity, whose breath they are said to be. With Sankara the ordained duties are compulsory only till an individual has realised his unity with God, but for Ramanuja the performance of such duties is obligatory as long as life and physical power endure. Ramanuja laid great emphasis on devotion to Narayana and announced to the whole world that all are entitled to attain Him regardless of birth and caste. He preached in short the fatherhood of Visnu and the motherhood of Lakshmi to mankind. His guru was a non-brahmin for whom food was served in the Brahminical house of Sri Ramanuja himself. His opening of the Melkote and Belur temples to the *Antyajas* or untouchables is indicative of his great reforming outlook and his zeal and successful endeavour to knit Hindus together into a strong fraternal bond.

After Ramanuja, Hoysala kings took up the cause of Visnu without any intolerence to Siva or Jaina, as recent researches have shown, contradicting the earlier view of Jaina persecution by the rulers in the Hoysala country. Their grand and magnificent temples at Belur, Somanathapur and elsewhere are land marks in the history of neo-Hinduism.

It will thus be seen that when emphasis on animal sacrifice and enormous ritual connected with these sacrifices was resented by the more thoughtful and leading people of all classes it became necessary to reform and re-orient the old religion to meet the needs and requirements of the day. People wanted a religion which they could understand and follow, i.e. a comprehensive and practical and realistic religion and they got it.

The Colas were ardent champions of Siva, from the time of Karikala and Aditya. Their numerous benefactions to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram and the Rajarajeswara temple at Tanjore evince their love towards uncompromising Saivism. Rajaraja

invited Saivite scholars from the North to give renewed vigour to to the South Indian Saivism. His zeal was taken up by the Veerasaivas of the Karnataka country. It is beyond doubt that Tamil Saivite literature and the Tamil saints excercised profound influence on the Lingayats. Disregard for the Vedas and the caste restrictions, and intolerance towards Visnu were their chief traits. Tamil Peria Puram (lives of Saints) was translated into Kannada and Tamil Manu Cola is the hero of Rajasekharacharita.

To the followers of Basava Deccan owes its birth of Kannada prose, simple, vigorous and terse, appealing to the masses. It saved the lower classes from falling into the folds of Islam or Christianity. It is a fine example of the aggressive Hinduism of the Middle ages.

Sankara to Ramanuja is a period of the great "definition" in Hinduism, a period of the Dharmasastra attaining its final shape. Mitakshara and Hemadri laid down the daily conduct of the Hindu in all his multifarious aspects. While Hemadri explained and elaborated the religious and domestic life of the Hindus, Mitakshara expounded and explained the civil and political relations of the Hindu.

Thus a renaissance was sweeping over the Deccan in religion and politics. Art was not neglected. The writings of Kumarila, Gaudapada, Suresvara, Nathamuni Yamunacharya and Ramanuja are amongst the highest expositions of the neo-Hinduism.

South Indian temples represent solidification of South Indian religious thought. Their art is not representing the repose and calmness of Buddhism. In consonance with the renascent spirit of Hinduism, iconography was developed. Kanchi saw the earliest, complete Hindu temple and its offshoot and image was the world famous Kailasa of Ellora. Here the multi-armed gods and goddesses, trampling down evils or transplanting their spears through asuras, symbolise the new spirit surging through the heart of the Deccan Hindus for examples Ravana lifting Kailasa, was the typical of the Hindus of the South. In the cause of their religion nothing was too great or too heavy to the Hindus to attempt or to perform. They were willing to do or die to save their religion. Hindus can be c-rtainly proud of the day when some of their great rulers like Rajaraja or Rajendra Cola, the Rastrakuta Krsna and Calukya Vikramaditya VI, tall intellectual giants, were able to weild swords as well as their pen.

Kings of this period were true to the Ksatriya tradition taught in the Bhagavat Gita. Duty to the state, i.e. their Dharma was their watch-word. They laboured ceaseleasly to promote Arya

Daharma. They would fight even their kith and kin if they stood in the way of the Rajadharma. Indeed, Bhagavat Gita was the bible of the kings of this period. That gives the true explanation for the constant warfare waged between the kings of the South amongst themselves and without and but for this background their wars become mere fights for earthly power. With this knowledge of the religious background, their constant rivalry is exalted into the service of God.

We need not start with a feeling that life in this world is ever full of sorrow and pain and misery and that to get out of this grief and pain is necessary the annihilation of the thirst after the pleasing objects of life, by the attainment of Nirvana. Nor need we worry about the metaphysical wranglings regarding the nature of the Brahman or the destiny of the soul; but we must free human life from the net of over-wrought mataphysics as much as from the redundant over-growth of ritualism. Religion then must be controlled from the aesthistic standpoint to counteract gnostic influences. What is required is an authoritative commandment and justification of morality and unselfishness more satisfactorily than Buddhism could ever prove them to be. Merely establishing the divine authority of the Vedas and their ever-lasting character could not produce this result. Hence Hindu scriptures embodying the Hindu tradition and rebutting the ethics of Buddhism expounded and expatiated on the Upanisadic doctrines. By this means, the Vedas came back to their own position and continue as such to this day. The effect of these teachings from Sankara to Ramanuja and the hundreds of saints and religious reformers was to give an increasing importance to the indigenous religious systems of the land and reinvigorate them.

Jainism well agreed with Buddhism in considering a state of impassive abstraction as supreme felicity and the Jaina doctrines are mostly those in common with the Hindus. They deny the existence of at least the activity and providence of God in believing in the enternity of matter; in the worship of dified saints; in their scrupulous care of the Animal life, and all the precautions which it leads to: in their having no hereditary priest-hood; in disclaiming the divine authority of the Vedas; and in having no sacrifice, and no respect for fire but they have got the caste system and numerous divisions. The Jains attained their highest prosperity in the eighth and ninth centuries and declined in their influence later on South India.

It is a view more cammonly held nowadys that the Indus civilization is definitely non-Aryan and much superior to the Indo Aryan but it is too soon to say whather it is Dravidian: and historically speaking the Rgveda, Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda

are very important, the last containing matters relating to pre-Rgvedic times, though later in composition than the other three Vedas. The Upanisads containing esoteric knowledge are *par excellence* and is summed up in the Mahavakya *Tat-Tvam-asi* (That art Thou) and most of the Upanisads are pre-Buddhistic and together with the Brahma sutras and the Bhagavat-Gita are termed the prasthanatraya. The Upanisads my be described as the literature of spiritual power appealing to man, irrespective of climes and ages. They embody the thought-power of the Ksatriyas and the Brahmanas and are the fountain-head of Vedanta philosophy.

The caste system may be traced to the initial segregation of the conquerors from the conquered and a subsequent division among the conquerors themselves as civilization advanced. In the earlier days the caste system was not so rigid as it afterwards became. We have the example of Visvamitra becoming a Brahmarisi. There is the instance of the acceptance of Satyakama Jabala, as a sage, the son of a *dasi* by unknown father, because he spoke the truth.

Buddha accepted many doctrines of Brahmanism and emphasised on self, reason and ethics for its ethical propogation. Jainism had the Triratnas, right faith, right knowledge and right conduct corresponding to the Buddhist eight-fold path. It was the religious inquest of the Buddha and Mahavira that created a stir in the dovecotes of Brahmin orthodoxy and promoted other religious movements. Their appeal to the ahimsa instinct of man was wider than the circle of their followers. The oppcsition of their personalities to the impersonal rishis of his Brahminical system had contributed to their success. The bhakti movement founded on ahimsa and adoration of a personal deity set its face against animal sacrifice and ritualism and Saivism and Vaisnavism as we are familiar with, originated during this period. Krsna worship developed at Mathura and its neighbourhood. The threat to Brahmanism by Buddhism and Jainism must have been responsible for the growing rigidity of caste and child marriage came to the fore-front.

South India under the Satava hanas and the Tamil rulers paid special attention to the glorification of the orthodox religion by the performances of Vedic sacrifices without adopting a truculent attitude towards Buddhism or Jainism. This gave further strength to orthodox Brahmanism by an apparent compromise with Saivism and Vaisnavism which brought the two latter into the pale of orthodoxy and consequently even centuries before christ, Brahmins had reduced the last foothold of Buddhism in the country.

The reorganization of the caste-system gave a definite place in Hindu Society to the foreigners who had become permanent residents in this country. The assimilation of the status of women to that of the Sudras was completed and their degradation ensured, and the puranas were intended for the edification of those classes who had been declared incompetent to pursue and study the fundamental religious texts. The subjugation of women was regularised. The theory of unreceptiveness of Indias for Hellenism has been seen to be untenable in the realms of coinage, astronomy, astrology and the fine arts. Predictive astrology as expounded by Varahamihira exhibits a western influence. The travel of Hiuen Tsang gives an account of the social and economic history of India in the seventh century. There was progress in art and town planning.

The Arab conquest of Sindh is regarded as a triumph without results. Though it did not modify Indian life permanently or enrich Indian Culture, the extensive empire of the Arabs facilitated the diffusion in it of Indian thought and science which ultimately reached Europe. Two Indians, Manka and Saleh were the court physicians of the Kaliph Harum-al-Rashid who started the Golden Age of Islam. The seventh century marked the period of triumph of Brahmanism with its Siva and Visnu cults and foreshadowed an early decadence of Jainism and Buddhism in the Pallava Empire. The greatness of Kanchi as a seat of Sanskrit learning to which flocked scholars from all parts of the then known world was well-known. It was visited by Hiuen Tsang. Dinnaga's name is associated with it and Bharavi is said to have been invited to his court by Simhavisnu. The famous Rock-cut temples of Pallava architecture have marked the transmition to the Dravidian architecture as well as the Calukyan, with their imposing towers and excell nt sculpture,

The unique success of Buddhism was due to the personality and character of the Buddha being properly handed down from generation to generation and embodying the sacred literature of his precepts and teachings. The great renunciation of the Master was the unnumbered virtues of his life which went straight to the hearts of the people who came to know him. With the rise of Mahayanism, the Buddha became divine and again it was his life and personality which conquered the hearts of men and women and the Sangha with its members devoted to spiritual exercises and wedded to poverty and chastity cannot be over-rated and it was a reservoir of spiritual energy and the financial support necessary for propaganda was given by the public. The development of Mahayana made Buddhism popular. The royal support from Asoka to Kaniska transformed it into a world faith. The triumph of

Kumarila and Sankara and the incorporation in the oldest religion of some of the best features of Buddhism found its aspects practically gone. In spite of the infalliability of the Vedas, sacrifices did not become conspicuous. Jainism contributed to Indian art, and philosophy and enriched Sanskrit and Kannada, and in some measure Tamil literature.

The most substantial contribution of South India to Hindusthan lay in the development of an aggressive Hindu movement which eclipsed Buddhism completely, left the Jainism to decline and gave rise to two great religious reformers Ramanuja and Basava who spread popular Hindu ideas amongst the illiterate and ignorant masses of the land.

While Vedic Hinduism was undergoing modification to suit popular tastes, and at the same time became the dominant religion of the ruling classes, Jinism was forced to take a second seat in the hall of culture. Jainasena, Gunabhadra, Pujyapada, sharpened their wits and logic to fight the subtle champion of Vedic revivalism, the great Advaitacharya. It was forced even to adopt the themes of the Hindus, though they would not accept their religion and philosophy. To be in tune with the changing, resurging Hinduism, Jains like Pampa and Ranna adopted the story of Ramayana and Mahabharata as themes for their Kannada epics. Indeed they enriched Kannada literature of the period but failed to achieve or recover their foremost place either in politics or in religion. What is more remarkable is that those protestant, un-Aryan religions, condemning Hinduism, ended in copying the Hinduism in its caste system, idol worship and other aspects of a social and political life.

Sankara and Ramanuja. what a glorious period of history these two names sum up. They were the progenitors of modern Hinduism. They rediscovered to us the glory and grandeur of the Vedas, consistently attacked by Buddhists, Jain, Charvakas and other atheists. God was humanised and harmonised with the growing, changing times. Personal God and devotion to Him were emphasised as superior and a shorter cut to salvation than the nihilism of Buddhists.

Erection of grand and artistic palaces for Gods tended to exalt and confirm the Hindu in a belief in his proud inheritance and the more glorious future to come. Their belief produced the virile manhood of India, the Rajput kings of the Deccan, fully reflecting the great undying epic ideals of the Mahabharata and the Bhagavat Gita.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS,

Medieval Section, 1295—1724.

BY

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I consider it a great honour for being called upon to preside over the deliberations of the section of this Conference dealing with the Medieval period of the history of the Deccan and to have an opportunity of addressing a distinguished and learned gathering like this. The responsibility is the greater as this is the first conference of its kind. and it will be precedents created during this session which will rule our work in future. I sincerely thank the organisers of Conference for having done me that honour.

What do we mean by the Deccan?

It would almost be tautological to say that the Deccan means South and that we are here today to deliberate over one of the three great periods of the history of a large part of South India. Apart from the fact that in ordinary parlance Deccan proper is differentiated from what is called South India and is taken to mean more the tableland and parts lying within the Dominions of my august master, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, it would be interesting to demarcate it further and find out whther it is really a geographical entity or merely a conventional phrase. There is another difficulty, and it is that while the Eastern or the Golconda Coast is not ordinarily regarded a part of the Deccan, the tracts lying on both sides of the spurs of the Western Ghats are called the Bombay Deccan to distinguish them from His Exalted Highness's Dominions which are taken to be the Deccan *par excellence.*

It would therefore be fruitful to know the boundaries of the territory with which we have to deal before proceeding any further. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the map of the subcontinent of India, besides the tremendous wall of the Himalayas and its offshoots jutting southwards both in the west and in the east, is a huge

equilateral triangle turned upside down with its base running parallel to the Vindhyas and the Tropic of Cancer and its apex at Cape Comorin. The structure of the northern part of this triangle is, however, different to the rest, for in Malwa the slope is westwards with the result that the Narbada and the Tapti follow it through narrow mountain valleys and fall into the Arabian Sea, while the slope in the south is definitely towards the east. The unit called the Deccan may therefore be said to commence with the Ajanta Range where the ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula right up to the Nilgiris and the Palghat Gap. This plateau, which is partly covered by a huge semicircle of ancient lava flow extending like a ten days' moon with one horn at Nagpur and the other at Goa over an area of two million square miles, is remarkable from the geographical point of view. Lava has disintegrated in the course of the millenia into what is termed the black cotton soil which peculiarly retains moisture much longer than any other soil and thus is extremely fertile and productive.

Many historical phenomena can be explained by the presence of this fertile soil, and the struggle for Berar between those who held Malwa and those who held the plateau of the Deccan is explained by the fact that Berar forms almost the pivot of the lavaic crescent and is therefore always the butt of its neighbours. Thus during the period over the section of which it is my privilege to preside today, the struggle centres round Mahur which is just outside Berar, and Kherla which lies just within its boundaries, and this struggle recurs time and again in the wars between Malwa and the Deccan.

These great lavaic uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghats wirh a sheer fall of nearly 4,000 feet, thus forming a natural barrier for the defence of the homelands of the Marathas, the *Desh*, from which the race spread first over the lavaic focus from Nagpur to Goa and thence right up to Delhi and Panipat in the north, Bengal in the east and Tanjore in the south. The natural fortress-like territory of the Konkan and the Desh with its mountain ramparts in the east and the great moat of the Arabian Sea in the west was the nursery of a virile race which kept on its independence of the rulers of the Deccan plateau throughout the Medieval period, and may be regarded as falling definitely outside our purview. No doubt the Bahmanis had certain corridors such as those leading to the seaports of Dabul and Chaul, but in all probability they had little to claim besides the roadway, and this is the reason why Goa had to be conquered time and again till it was finally lost to the Portuguse mainly owing to the difficulty of holding the hinterland, and a brave captain like Khalaf Hasan Basri had to lay down his life in the vain attempt to probe through the density of the Konkan jungle in the north.

While the lavaic plateau has an abrupt fall of nearly 4,000 feet on the western fringe, it has a very gentle slope eastwards and takes more than three hundred miles to level itself with the eastern plains bordering on the Bay of Bengal. The plateau is almost level as it leaves the Ghats, but about 75° E., it has a ridge about 50 mile wide, and it is on the slopes of that ridge that we find the historic town of Khuldabad on the edge of the precipice studded with Ellora Caves on its base, Daulatabad in the middle and Aurangabad on the southern edge. Eastward of Aurangabad the slope is too gentle to be perceptible, but it is flanked on the south by a ridge between 2,000 and 2,500 feet above sea level, extending from the Ghats through Ahmadnagar right up to the triune town of Golconda-Hyderabad-Secunderabad, the Jubilee Hills of Hyderabad forming its easternmost boundary. In the intervening expanse we find the ancient town of Bidar living on a high eminence with a sheer drop of about a thousand feet to the south, and it is this which makes the climate of Bidar so salubrious as to have led Ahmad Shah Wali declare it to be the capital of his dominions in preference to the arid and sultry Gulbarga which lies on the other side of the great ridge. No doubt Muhammad I had in his mind the strategic importance of Golconda as the easternmost point of the chain extendining from 73° E., eastward when he agreed to make that town the frontier post of the nascent Bahman State, and it was only a matter of time that the masters of the highlands descended to the deltaic plains of the Godavari and the Krishna and annex them to their dominions.

Coming to peninsular India south of the Tungabhadra we find that the geographical character of the land gradually changes till there is little in common with the plateau we have left, so that the epithet, *South India* which has been coined to indicate the tapering part of the peninsula in contradistinction to *Deccan* proper seems to be entirely justified. Goa is situated near the point at which the lava-capped northern section of the Western Ghats almost touches their crystalline southern section, and the Ghats now extend to the east in the form of the Mysore plateau with its northern limit touching the Tungabhadara just where the Hampi ruins now take us back to Vijayanagar days. Thus when once this northern spur was conquered at Talikota the victors could march south right through the Karnatak territory with hardly so much as a hitch. The extraordinary historical phenomenon of European traders, Dutch, English, French and the rest, being left to increase their influence south of abont 16° N., is due to the apparent lack of interest on the part of the rulers of the plateau in this region owing to the utter lack of real ports south of 16° N. It is noticeable that unlike the deltas of the Godavari and the Khrisha, the solitary southern delta, that of the Cauvery, is not protruding forward, and there are no ports worth the name there owing to the unsuitability of the weather caused by two distinct currents, the N. E. trades and

the S. E. monsoons. Madras itself is an artificial harbour and is by no means safe all the year round, and although the precipitate narrowing of the peninsula causes increased rainfall and higher humidity, it cannot compare favourably with the naturally manured soil of lavaic Deccan.

Now we may safely delimit the natural boundaries of Medieval Deccan. Its north-western boundary is somewhere north of Aurangabad and touches a huge circle passing by the Tapti in the north and Goa in the south. The line of the natural expansion of the race would be from Golconda to the basin of the Godavari and Krishna in the east and through the gorges of the Western Ghats into the plain of the Konkan in the west. In the south the earliest attempts to control the crystalline section of the Western Ghats beyond the Tungabhadra ware a failure in spite of the decided superiority of the inhabitants of the lavaic plateau, which is remarkably evidenced by the famous query of one of the greatest Rayas of Vijayanagar. Still once the northern limits of that section of the peninsula were subdued in 1565, the negotiators could march as far south as the southern limits of the Mysore plateau and implant their colonies in the tracts which they deemed hospitable. Thus the Deccan core may be said to extend from the Ghats in the west to the Golconda coast in the east and from the Tapti in the north to the Tungabhadra in the South with offshoots running to the Arabian Sea and the Mysore plateaus.

Individuality of the Deccan.

I regret I have possibly taken a little too long to delineate the natural limits of the Deccan with due regard to the medieval history of this part of India, and I have taken the liberty of doing this as such definition has not been attempted so far. In fact the first time the history of the Deccan was reviewed as such was when the President of our Executive Committee, who is also a creator of the Deccan History Association, made an important contribution to the problem of Deccan History in the excellent and thought-provoking address he delivered from his place as the president of the Deccan history section of the Indian History Congress in December 1941. The acceptance of the principle of having a section of that year's Congress devoted to the Deccan taken as a unit connoted the recognition of the principle that the Deccan has an entity of its own within the larger entity of India, and that its historical evolution is distinct in some ways from the history of the far south almost as much as it is from the history of the nothern parts of country. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur's address dealt with the history of the Deccan both as a unit and as a part of the sub-continent of India, and he rightly stressed the truth of the cosciousness of its individuality which is so patent in the thought and action of the inhabitants of the apex of the great plateau.

A personal touch may be interesting. As far back as the autumn of 1913, I was attending some advanced courses in Geography delivered by Professor Lyde of the London University. It was just after the removal of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, and the venerable teacher was expounding the theory of political capitals and its application to the history of the world. It now seems all too remarkable that an audience consisting mostly of English students was told that although Delhi and an importance of its own from the viewpoint of history as also in its being the terminus of a number of railway arteries connecting the the north with the rest of India, still the true geographical capital of India lay somewhere near Daulatabad and Aurangabad in the Deccan!

A land of contacts

Those of us who know something of the Deccan are struck by the phenomenal diversity of its population, it languages, its races and its religions. The territory is the home of people speaking not only the major languages of the land, Urdu, Telugu, Marathi and Kanada, but we find the Pardi remnants of the Gujarati allies of the Bahmanis speaking Gujarati, the Sikhs of Nander speaking Panjabi, the colonists of the far south speaking Tamil and the opulent Marwaris of the Deccan speaking Rajasthani. Religions are also diverse, and the proverbial religious tolerance of the rulers of Medieval Deccan is evidenced by the fact that we do not come across any notable convert to Islam till the final stages of Bahmani rule and that even today an overwhelming majority of the people follow the faith of their ancient ancestors without let or hindrance. In fact this table-land has acted as a buffer between the north and south, between the Aryan and the Dravidian, between the followers of numerous Indian sects and between practically all the major languages of India, and it may well be said that had there been no such land of contacts it would have had to be created. Time and again attempts have been made to absorb the Deccan into great Empires but such attempts have failed in the long run and the Deccan has succeeded in retaining its individuality in some form or other.

Deccani Culture

This individuality has bred a peculiar culture of its own which may be termed the Deccani culture and which has its roots deep in the Medieval period. The famous order of Krishna Deva Raya to recruit soldiers among the Mussulmans, the direct influence of Hindu Culture over the great Bahmani successions states, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, the patronage granted by the Adilshahi and the Qutbshahi Sultans, to local languages,

the affinity between the system adopted by the great Abyssinian Malik Ambar and the phenomenal rise of the Mahrathas, the closest cooperation between the Deccani states and the rising confederacy centered at Satara, all this may be trite to a deep student of the history of the Deccan, but provides an ample evidence of what was leading to the cementing of a composite culture. It is a truism to say that, trained in the art of warfare developed by Malik Ambar, the Maratha people rose against the advancing Mughal armies to defend the tottering Adilshahis of Bijapur, and it was only when the fall of that state became imminent that they took up arms on their own account "in order to protect the Cows and the Brahmans" as Sivaji put it.

Cultural Actions and Recactions

This interaction of cultures is seen very early and Hindu influence was early creeping even into religious edifices of the Muslims of the Deccan, as is seen in the prayer niche in the tomb of Ghiyasu'd Din Bahmani at Gulbarga. In Firoz Shah's reign this influence becomes patent, and the Sultan took to the study of local languages to the extent that he could converse with those whose mother tongues they were. It was again Firoz who, for the first time ordered that the tomb he built for the reception of his remains after his death should have definite Hindu elements intermingled with purely Persian *motifs.* On the other hand we find definite Bahmani influences in the architecture of the remains which fill us with respect and wonder at Hampi. The marriage of Parthal with Prince Hasan Khan had set the ball rolling in the way of an inter-racial and inter-religious dovetailing of the people and in Firoz's reign such unions must have become the order of the day. The infiuence of Hidu culture on the ruling classes of the Deccan became so much the common feature that during the invasion of Vijayanagar by the Bahmani armies about 1400, a Qadi, Siraj by name, could disguise himself as a Hindu without any fear of recognition. This mutual identification of the Hindus and the Muslims in their daily secular life crept even in their dress, and we find little to differentiate between the dress worn by Sivaji from the dress worn by the later Adilshahi Sultans. Naturally these similarities cou'd not fail to create a common vehicle of thought, and it is the Deccan which saw the rapid evolution of that beautiful language, call it Dakhni or Hindui or Rekhtah or Urdu, which I am proud to call my own. If Urdu means the evolved language written in Persian characters we find its earliest prose from the pen of that great saint of the Deccan, Hazrat Khwaja Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga as far back as the beginning of the fifteenth cedtury although the earliest Deccani poetry of which we are aware that of Shah Miranji, goes back only to the

end of the sixteenth century. Urdu was patronised both by the Adilshahis and the Qutbshahis, and a number of the Sultans of Golconda, like Muhammad Qatub Shah, were poets of note in that language.

The Cradle of Medieval Chronicles.

This brings us to the historians of Medieval Deccan, and without a short account of their importance no summary of that period of our history whould be complete. It is significant that the Descan is the part of India where one of the most important—if not *the* most inportant—chronicle of Medieval India, Muhammad Qasim Ferishta's famous history, the Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, was penned, while another great work which preceded the Ferishtah, i. e., the Burhan-i-Ma'asir, was also written down in the Deccan. Ferishtah has drawn freely from a number of chronicles, compiled both in poetry and in prose, one of the most important being Mulla Dawud Bidri's Tuhfatu's–Salatin. Then we have the letters of the great Bahmani wazir, Mahmud Gawan, the Riyadu'l-Insha which throw a large mass of contemporary events in great relief. Lastly we have Shah Nawaz Khan's Ma'asiru'l–Umara, a great dictionary of the biography of noble personages, which was also compiled in the Deccan. Of the chronicles relating to the Bahmani succession states the chief are Basatinu's-Salatin and Tazkiratul-Muluk relating to the history of Bijapur and the Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi which deals with Golconda, while Burhan-i-Ma'asir deals with the royal house of Ahmadnagar and Ferishtah with the Sultans of Bijapur at some length. As we come down to the Mughal period of Deccan history the demarcating line between the north and the south is virtually effaced till the supineness of the north led to the autonomy of Asaf Jah I in 1724. Right through the later Medieval epoch, beginning about the middle of the sevententh century we have the great Maratha sources, the Bhakkars, and the whole mass of documents collectively known as the Peshwa Daftar which form a necessary complement to the chronicle in the Persian language, and it is absolutely necessary to correlate these documents with our chronicles if we woud have an objective picture of the period just before the rise of the Asafjahi Dynasty.

Study of Deccan History

I am afraid I have to pass on to a sad tale, the comparative neglect of the study of Medieval Deccan history by by modern scholarship. At the outset mention must be made of the yeoman service to the history of Marathas by that trio of Poona scholars, Rajwade, Sardesai and Potdar. Rajwade has become a classical name, and his erstwhile colleague, Sardesai, is happily as full of

energy today with fourscore years to his credit as he was half a century ago Potdar, on his part, leads a brilliant band of scholars and an extremely prolific research centre housed in the modest buildings of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodak Mandal at Poona. Looking further east and south we are all very glad that the Madras University is doing all it can to make the glories of Vijayanagar shine again by the researches they are undertaking today and the Andhra Research Society of Rajahmandry is doing very useful work on Estern Deccan. Coming nearer home we have the almost ancient Archaeological Society appearing in the newly made garb of the Archæological and Historical Society, but may I say in all humility that this outer form has not made the old lady much more youthful or active in essence in spite of the efforts of all concerned. On the other hand the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government has proved of a very great utility in unearthing and conserving a large mass of historical material during its existence. I would, however, take leave to suggest that the Depatment should pay a little more attention to Medieval monuments according to a certain plan. Hardly any other tract of India is richer in Medieval historical monuments than the Deccan, and may I suggest that the Department should take up the exploration of definite parts of the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar and complement its findings to the work that has been done in adjacent British India provinces, if only for the reason that the archaeological and historical demarcation between the two is at times practically non-existent. If the Department attempts that it would do a great service to historical scholarship in the country.

My esteemed friend, Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Indian Archives and President of the seventh session of the Indian History Congress, said in his Presidential Address last December that the history of any country is based on two foundations, Archaeology and Archives. The mass of documents contained in our Daftar-i-Diwani wa Mal can be equalled only by the archives of Poona and Madras in their utility for an objective study of the later Medieval period of our history. We are all glad that a new vista of historical research has been opened up by the appointment of a permanent Advisory Board under a Royal Farman-i-Mubarak of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and this Board has on hand a number of schemes which will go a long way to assist those engaged in research on the Medieval history of the Deccan.

I would not take much of your time in re-counting work on Medieval Deccan history by individuals in recent times, as very little of it exists As a matter of fact besides the history of Golconda by my friend and colleague, Mr. Abdul-Majid Siddiqi, and the lives of Muhammad Qutb Shah and Mir Mu'min by another esteemed friend, the founder of Idara-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, very little has been

done on the later middle Ages. Hakim Shamsu'llah Qadri Sahib's Salatin-i Ma'bar falls just outside the limits of the Deccan, while the Moulvi 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Khan's Tazkira-i Salatin-i Dakan is at best an uncritical compendium of books he says he had at hand. I may be permitted to tell the members of the Conference that my own book the *Chronology and Culture of the Bahmanis* is now complete and I hope that it will be in the hands of those interested in the subject of Medieval Deccan soon. As I said from my place as the President of the Medieval section of the Indian History Congress in December 1943, the Osmania University are doing all that is possible to encourage research in the history of Medieval Deccan, and some of the theses written by our scholars have already been published. As is known, the Hyderabad Government are sponsoring a large history of the Deccan, the second volume of which will deal with the Medieval period; I hope this volume will soon be taken up and will thus fill the lacuna which exists between the ancient period of Deccan history and its modern or the Asaf Jahi period.

I am afraid this is all that is being done at present. What is needed, however, is a much larger output of work on the history of the Bahmanis and each of the Succession States written from a purely objective point of view with as few of prejudged notions and subjective elements as possible. I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to do what you can to make the Medieval period—which is truly the formative period of our own time—a living period by devoting your time and attention to it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. I thank you for the kindness and indulgence with which you have listened to me and hope that the deliberations of this section would further bring home to you importance of all that Medieval Deccan stands for.

The Relations of Madras with Golconda

(1642—1687)

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I.

DURING the first years of its life the English settlement at Madras saw the rapid rise to dominance of Nawab Mir Jumla in the Carnatic. Sriranga Raya's (acc. 1642) grant of the site and other privileges of Madras to the English, confirming the previous grants of his subordinates, was dated October-November 1646. Damarla Venkatappa, had been dismissed from his position of authority at the capital, by Sriranga Raya, and he now created trouble by intriguing with Golconda general and was put under arrest on suspicion of treachery. Ayyappa, the younger Damarla brother, brought pressure to bear on the Raya and endeavoured hard to secure his release (1643-44). The Dutch records of that year mention the occupation of Venkatagiri by the Golconda troops and also the release and reinstatement of Damarla Venkatapathi in his previous position Now, Sriranga sought the assistance of the Bijapur generals operating in the Carnatic Balaghat, by promising to give them 15 lakhs of pagodas and 24 elephants, while the English at Madras made their first move to get from the Raya a confirmation of their charters previously got from the Damarla brothers. The position was that Sriranga had got an initial success against Golconda, got round the elder Damarla and was feeling secure for the time being.[1] The place of the Damarla chief was now taken by Mallai Chinna Chetty, whom the Dutch assisted with troops and guns subduing the forts still in possesion of the younger Damarla brother who was hostile to them. Mallai bid fair to

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1. *Vide* Fort St. George letter to Bantam, dated 4th January, 1643.

"This country being all in broils the old king of Karnatic being dead; so is the Nayak of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country; for our Nayak, not finding the respect from the new king as he expected, did make proffer to assist the Moors, but ere he could bring his treason about, 'twas discovered he (was) apprehended by the king, who hath seized a great part of his country; but we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for our Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue, (who are within half a day's journey of each other), will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom."

become the master of the whole coast tract, aimed at the overlordship of Madras and demanded half the profits accruing from its customs, in the place of the Damarla Nayak. The English naturally resisted Mallai's proceedings.

In 1644, Golconda proceeded to press steadily along the coast southwards, and though pushed back a little, was still threatening the country round Fort St. George.[2] Within a short time, Madras was able to write to Surat that Mallai and the Dutch had quarrelled and the Raya was helping the former against the latter who were besieged in Pulicat with a considerable force. The English now fished in these troubled waters, wanted to ruin entirely the trade of their rivals and endeavoured to get from the Raya a confirmation of all their privileges. Thus came about the embassy of Greenhill to the Raya.[3]

The operations round Pulicat by the Dutch had begun about the middle of the previous August and in January 1646 the English at Madras wrote that the general of the King of Golconda Mir Jumla had advanced with a great army and was opposed by Mallai, with a body of 3,000 men whom he had withdrawn from the operations going on round Pulicat. But when Sriranga Raya was defeated by his own rebellious Nayaks In December 1645, Mir Jumla was able to take possession of Udayagiri from Mallai who surrendered it, as the English report said, "upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free". Now the forces of Bijapur and Golconda joined together and laid siege to Raya Vellore itself and defeated the Raya under its walls. This meant that the operations against the Dutch at Pulicat ceased with the fall of Mallai from power. Mir Jumla now overrun all the land and easily became the overlord of Pulicat and San Thome (before October 1647) when the English factors reported that he had assumed the title of Nawab and had begun to rule the country in his own name. The English had to give him a brass gun, which he would not be denied of, 'whether he had lent us this money or no; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old privileges formerly granted us by the now fled Jentue King.' Mir Jumla, after thus securing the allegiance of the English in Madras, passed on to the siege of Gingee. New English Agent, of Madras Ivie, had to lend the Nawab Mir Jumla his gunner and several of his best soldiers for the blockade of San

2. Letter of Madras to the Company, dated 8th September 1644.

"The Moors but five weeks past had advanced with their arms within three miles of Pulicat and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up their castle; and we did suddenly expect the same; but shortly after the Jentues (Raya's troops) came down with a great power, gave the Moors battle, routed their army and put the moors to flight beyond Armagon, where they are now gathering a head again, so the danger that we live in is yet unknown."

3. The king of Bissnageree letter to the Agent in Madraspatam, dated Ailour (Vellore?) the 25th September 1645-letter from the Madras Factors to Surat after the embassy had returned, dated 21st January 1746.

Thome. The English thus incurred the enmity of the Portuguese at the latter place; and though a peace was soon patched up, mutual friction continued.

Mir Jumla's campaign against Gingee was made in conjunction with the forces of Bijapur. He allowed his Bijapur ally to take possession of Gingee and Tegnapatam. (later Fort St. David) on the coast; and Sriranga fled to Mysore for protection. Thus Mir Jumla's authority over the coast country round Madras became fully consolidated. He had in his service a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European help. He was a person of great talents, marked by "industry, rapid despatch of business, administrative capacity, military genius and inborn power of leadership." From the first, during his campaigns in the Carnatic, he strengthened himself by securing a number of European gunners and cannon-founders and maintaining his army at a high pitch of discipline. From Cumbum he extended the dominion of Golconda, *i.e.*, his own powers, to Gandikota, Chandragiri and Tirupati. His dominions in the Carnatic covered an area of 300 miles long and 50 miles broad. He maintained an army of 50,000 well-mounted cavalry of his own, besides 4,000 horses of his Sultan's. His infantry troops numbered 20,000; and he had an excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants.

Mir Jumla confirmed all the privileges that the English had obtained from the previous Hindu rulers when they gave him help against San Thome. Thus the years 1646-47 saw the English at Madras continue to secure, first the Raya's confirmation of their privileges and next the friendship of the Mussalman conqueror and a further confirmation of their rights.

II

Greenhill was Agent of Madras, for the fitst time from 1648 to 1652 and later from 1655 to 1659. He carried no negotiations successfully with Muhammadans. His very first letter to the Company mentions the confirmation by Mir Jumla of the privileges of the English in Madras. From it we learn that Madras was comparativeiy safe under the rule of Golconda, whereas the Mussalmans of Bijapur who were in possession of the country lower down the coast in the Gingee dominion, had let loose a body of 8,000 freebooters, whose "incursions robberies and devastations hath brought a desolation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth-ports, Devanampatnam (later Fort St. David), Porto Novo and Pullacheri (Pondicheri) of which the last two are in a manner ruined, the other hardly preserving itself in a poor condition with a continual presence."

Greenhill contrived to be on friendly terms with Mir Jumla who even made a proposal that he would gladly subscribe to the stock of the Company and to share in its profits. The English sent their native agent, the Brahman Venkatapathi,[4] to accompany Littleton who went on an embassy to the Nawab, who was then encamped at Gandikotta. Greenhill wrote that the Nawab had, in his own right, 4,000 horses, 300 elephants, about 500 camels and 10,000 oxen and was much in favour with the Great Mughal hmself. He owned ten vessels and had extensive trade relations with Pegu, Arakan, Persia, Bengal, Mocha, Perak, the Maldives and even Macassar. He had conquered from the Raya dominions yielding 40 lakhs of pagodas per annum. The Nawab had already assisted the Company with a loan and now offered a much larger loan of 50 to 60 thousand pagodas, and therefore, was deemed to entertain a real affection for the English.[5]

Greenhill's second term of administratlon which lasted four years was marked by the unfortunate reduction of Fort St. George to the rank a subordinate agency. It was during these years that Nawab Mir Jumla joined Prince Aurangzeb, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, and cleverly ingratiated himself into the favour of the Emperor Shah Jahan, thus protecting himself against the anger of the Sultan of Golconda, whose displeasure he had incurred. He went away from the Carnatic to the Mughal Court, leaving the administration of his dominion of the Poonamallee country in the hands of tyrannous lieutenants like Bala Rao. Mir Jumla got from the Mughal Emperor a confirmation of his possession of the Carnatic country that he had secured by his arms and continued his trade activities in this region right upto July 1656. His former master, Abdulla Kutb Shah, had indeed tried to win back the friendship of his overgrown ministers; but the latter definitely went over to the Mughal side when his family was imprisoned by the Sultan in Golconda on account of the haughty behaviour of his son. When the Kutb Shah tried to establish his own authority over Mir Jumla's acquisition in the Carnatic, Shah Jahan decided that they should be deemed as Mir Jumla's personal jaghir and as held directly from the Mughal Eemperor and curtly ordered the recall of all Golconda officers from that province.

Taking advantage of this situation, Sriranga Raya tried to recover possession of this region; and his father-in-law even made

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4. Venkata's son Viraraghava Brahmany rose to considerable importance in the next generation as the English agent at the Golaconda court.

5. We learn from Mr J.N. Sarkar (*vide.* the J.B.R.S. Vol. XXX Part I, pp. 84 *et seq.* that the term Mir Jumla was the designation of the holder of a post and not a personal name. Mir Jumla (Amir-i-Jumla) implies 'the chief of collections' and strictly his office was that of a finance minister, but extended to the command of expedition and the police functions of keeping law and order in the state. The famous Mir Jumla was appointed to his post in March 1634.

a raid on Periyapalayam in the neighbourhood of Madras. Koneri Chetty had contrived to enter the service of the Ray and become his general; and soon the country round about Poonamallee was brought, for the time being, back under Hindu rule; but Koneri Chetty quickly betrayed his new master and made overtures to Tupaki Krishnappa of Gingee who was the lieutenant of Mir Jumla and who contrived to inflict a defeat upon Sriranga in September 1657. This brought about the siege of Madras on behalf of Mir Jumla, the first of its kind.

III

Mir Jumla had left the Carnatic country in charge of an agent of his, who tried to practise oppressions towards the English. He had his headquarters at Poonallee. Troubles arose on a serious scale when Greenhill seized a junk belonging to the Nawab when it was riding off San Thome, in retaliation for the action of the Nawab's agent in stopping grain and goods from coming as usual into Madras, in raising the *sunkam* dues and in not allowing the English to buy any rice or paddy at all in the country, besides subjecting them to many other indignities for which they could obtain no redress.

The English also helped, in some little measure, the practically dispossessed Sriranga Raya in his desparate attempts to regain possession of some part of his former kingdom; and they gave some help to Koneri Chetty who had now taken service under the Raya and was at the head of his partisians and soldiers. Madras itself was frequently sujected to threats of actual attack by Mir Jumla's troops and by the Raya's partisans, the rival parties in the struggle. Koneri Chetty was, on one occasion, beaten by the Muhammadan troops; and he fled to Fort St. George for protection, being followed close at his heels by the victors, who entered the Indian town, burnt some thatched houses and plundered others. Thereupon, a large number of the Indian inhabitants abandoned the settlement. Koneri Chetty's soldiers had sought protection in the Fort itself and the Nawab's men who dared not direct an attack on it had to retreat with a loss of thirty in an engagement "about a mile off on the further side of the river by the toddy trees of Vepery." (January 1657).

Nor was Madras to suffer alone in this miserable position. The Dutch at Pulicat were not altogether secure in spite of their strength. The Raya's troops were able to maintain parity, for some months, with the Nawab's men. Koneri Chetty finally gave himself up into the hands of the Muhammadans. This treacherous act of his rendered him liable to the suspicion of having purposely betrayed his master, and of having been suborned to do so by

Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee, who acted as the general of Mir Jumla's troops. The English Agent feared that Koneri Chetty might have even planned to surrender Fort St. George into the hands of the enemy, if he should have been admitted into it with his men, as he very importunately insisted.[6]

Thus the attack on Madras in 1656-57 formed the first formidable danger that threatened the settlement. It gave an incentive to the development of the fortifications. It resulted in the completion of the wall enclosing the Outer Fort *i. e.*, the walled Inner Citadel and the European quarter around it, both of which constituted the White Town. Soon after this a revolution took place in the fortunes of Mir Jumla, as his master, Prince Aurangzeb, now triumphed in the civil war of succession. Mir Jumla became the viceroy of Bengal on the accession of Aurangzeb; and thus his interest in his Carnatic dominion ceased. The Golconda Sultan was quietly able to resume sway over the neighbourhood of Madras (1658).

Mir Jumla gave trouble to the English and a narrative was prepared by Chamber entitled "A Relation of several passages since the Founding of the Town of Madrassapatam". It was drawn up before 1662 and is valuable as furnishing an account of the siege of Madras in Greenhill's time.[7]

IV

We find from the Council's Minute of November 28, 1661, that the privileges enjoyed by Madras at the time were not anything more than what had been secured at the first building of the

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6. " As for Conarcittee hee rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner but was received in state by the Comanders with more than Accustomed honour in such cases. which, considered with his Alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa (called by Martin Tripachissenapan-aique), the Nabob's Generall, together with other Circumstances and observations in his present Deport, and continued respect for ditto Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the Generall suspicion of his betraying the King's Army. As per chance hee would have done this ffort, under pretence of defending it against the Enemy, had wee let him in with 2 or 300 men as hee very importunately desired, and threatened to kill all his women should wee deny it. But it pleased God to direct us better than to trust him with such a power that we might too soone have repented. " (H. Greenhill T. Chamber–O.C. No. 2610, 28th January 1656–7).

7. The following passage from the Report would throw light on the dispute and its sequel: 'Afterward Sidelee (Sayyid Ali) sent us word...that the Nabob had conferred all the affairs of these partes uppon Tupake Krishnapa; wherefor would that we should write noe more to him, he having written many Lying Storeys to Tupake Krishnapa whereby we were besieged eight moneths. In tyme of which siege he sent to us word that the Nabobs Jounkes were to goeto Sea, wherefor he desired our passe. To whom we Returned Answere that they having besieged us, and not makeing satisfaction for what taken from us, returned the stone According to promise, what Reason had we to give any passe for his Jounkas. After the denyall whereof, they making the siege stronger daylie fighting with us, driveing away our Cattell and abuseing our people they mett, putting fines uppon them, where by Accrewd great Damage to the towne.

'Alsoe through the not Vending of their Commodityes which were usually vended in this Towne. the Annuall Rent of the Countrey of Punnamelle Could not be Raised; which Krishnapa Nague and Japa Nague hearing of, sent order to Ballaraw to make peace with us and raise the siege, saying that it was not profitable to them to warr with Merchants, and that when the Nabob Came he might decide the differences; till which tyme desired there might be a Friendship Concluded between us. Which accordingly was agreed upon. (Fac. Rec. Misc., Cir. 1660–61).

fort and town, "which is that you have such a circuit belonging to the town of Madraspatam, and the inhabitants to be counted as your subjects, and the justice to be executed by you; only one half of the customs to be paid to the Diwan, which is meant the King Viceroy or chief Governor of the country."

Bala Rao, the governor for the Muasalmans of the neighbouring country, caused a great amount of injury to the settlement. His agent who was empowered to collect the Nawab's share of the customs, encouraged factions among the officials of the Indian town, like those referred to above, hindered the Company's Merchants in their work of providing cloth for export and forced the townsmen to buy paddy at 25% above the bazaar price, stopping all other paddy, except his own, coming into the town and "demanding customs that was never heard of before."

Mir Sayyid Ali was appointed to be in charge of the Poonamallee country in succession to Bala Rao; and the English hoped to get some relief from him. They had taken possession of one of the Nawab's junks and were now asked to give it back. For as long a period as eight months was Madras subjected to blockade by Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak and Bala Rao under the orders of Sayyid Ali; and at the last the troubles ceased, but only for the time being, when in 1658, Agent Greenhill and Krishnappa Nayak made an agreement that Madras should pay the Nawab's Diwan annually 380 pagodas for the Nawab's dues of half the customs of the town.

In 1659 the Golconda troops left the neighbourhood of Madras as soon as they thought that the Hindu rising had been effectively suppressed. Two years later, they again appeared in the neighbourhood, because Shahji, the Bijapur governor of the Mysore country and the Lower Carnatic coast, had then attacked and taken possession of Porto Novo; and they now intended to attack San Thome, lest it should fall into the hands of the designing Dutch. The Golconda general, Raza Kuli afterwards known as Nawab Neknam Khan, laid siege to San Thome early in 1662 and starved it into surrender in Maa of that year. Many of rich merchants of the Portuguese colony thereupon migrated to Madras and crowded the settlement. The English Fort itself was much threatened; and Chamber wrote that they would defend themselves by sea rather than lose their trade and privileges.

In 1663 the English got into trouble with Nawab Neknam Khan (called also General Riza Kuli)[8] over the dues from Madras.

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8. He was a servant of Shah Abbas of Persia and came over to Golconda where he was entertained by Abdulla Kutb Shah.

Naturally, the Nawab's demands were pitched very high; and he threatened to blockade Madras with an army of 40,000 men quartered in its neighbourhood. He demanded that a Muhammadan captain should be admitted into the town and be permitted to erect a warehouse for facilitating the collection of customs by his officers. Winter enlarged the Inner Citadel in the Fort, strengthened the garrison and provided for the forming of a chapel within the Castle wherin public service might be regularly held.

Nawab Neknam Khan continued to have differences with the Madras administration and claimed that he had the right to receive not only half the customs, but the whole of the proceeds and that he would appoint an *havildar* in Madras to check the receipts. The Nawab long persited in his demands; Foxcroft steadily resisted them; and the relations between them became strained. The Nawab, who is described by Martin, as then being the chief minister of Golconda, added to the San Thome fortifications as a measure of furher coercion. In 1670 Neknam Khan's deputy imposed a strict blockade on Madras which lasted for a month. About the beginning of 1672 Nawab Neknam Khan died. Troubles arose with the French capture of San Thome, and these brought on Madras a great change.

V

The French occupation of San Thome began or rather interjected itself into Madras relations with Golconda. The foundation of Madras was laid at a period of declining prosperity for San Thome. It was subjected to the buffetings of enemies, threatened by the Dutch and attacked by Golconda; and at last it fell into hands of the latter power in May 1662. It remained under Mussalman control till 1672, when it was taken possession of by the French who were able to hold it only for a time. The French occupation resulted, however, in a considerable extension of the fortifications of the place, particularly on the western or land side, where it was in danger of attack from the Mussalmans.

The French occupation of San Thome lasted only but two years which constituted, in reality, one prolonged period of blockade and attack of the town by the combined armies of the Sultan of Golconda and of the Dutch. It was finally starved into surrender in August 1674 after the siege had lasted nearly two years. The French had to stand two sieges. In the first siege they fortified the Sri Kapaliswarar Temple of Mylapore (adjacent to San Thome on the west) as their western outpost and also the Triplicane Temple to the north and forced his besiegers to retire. The second siege was, however, more formidable. The Dutch

had the honour of reducing the Fort, but the Muhamadans actually took possession of it. The English Governor, Langhorne, made a strong representation to the Muhamadans of Golconda that the fortifications of San Thome should be completely demolished, particularly as he was afraid that the French might recover the Fort by paying a consideration to the Sultan or by a sudden attack. One consequence of the French surrender of San Thome was the withdrawal of Martin, one of the French captains, with a small body of Frenchmen, to Pondichery lower down the coast, where he founded the famous French settlement. The site of Pondicherry had already been granted to the French by the Bijapur Sultan to whom it belonged and now Martin began to plan its fortification.

Governor Langhorne (1672-78) was afraid that if the fortifications of San Thome were not immediately pulled down, the French would come and take it again and that if the king of Golconda should allow the Dutch keep the place, they might be obliged to restore it to the French by any agreement that they might enter into. The best thing, in the view of the English Governor, was for the Dutch to lend engineers and other artificers to the Sultan of Golconda and to help in blowing up the walls with gun powder. In fact, in December 1674, the Musslman governor of the place proposed to restore it to the French in return for a consideration of a lakh of pagodas. But the Dutch had gained over Madanna Pant, the then all-powerful Brahman minister of Golconda, and nipped the scheme in the bud. Governor Langhorne was very suspicious of the French designs and was warmly supported by the Dutch in his insistence that the Golconda authorities should demolish the fortifications. At first, orders were issued from Golconda for the destruction both of the fortifications and also of the principal churches and other buildings of the place. But the Muslim governor of the town protested against the demolition of the buildings and therefore contrived to save them from the pick-axe. The fortifications were pulled down with the assistance of the Dutch and the English who supplied engineers and overseers and also new gun-powder (1675); but the English Governor desisted from taking an open and active part in the work of destruction, for fear of embroiling the English Company with the French and the Portuguese, both of whom had put forth their claims to the town with great persistence. The dismantled town of San Thome was quickly re-occupied by a number of Portuguese settlers who wanted to rebuild the walls; and hence in 1697 the town was totally dismantled. It finally came under British occupation in 1749.

The most important event in Governor Langhorne's rule was the acquisition of a cowle [9], confirmed by his seal, early in 1672

9. Dated 23rd February 1672 by His Excellency the Nabob Yeckmam Cawne. It was confirmed by his successor Sayyid Musa.

from Nawab Neknam Khan for Madras. The cowle promised that the town of Madras "shall remain wholly rented for ever under the English so long that the Sun and the Moon endureth and so they shall perpetually enjoy it"; it also empowered the English to get the command, government and justice of the said town. In this cowle Madraspatam and Chennapatnam are detailed in their exact area, the former as covering the limits of the pre-British town or village of that name and perhaps including the whole of the land originally granted by the Damarla brothers, and the latter, Chennapatnam, being the specific name given to the new Fort and town which the English erected within those limits, but south of the original village. We learn that Narimedu (*i. e.* Jackal Mound) was the ground adjacent to Chennapatnam on the west side, having been acquired in Raja Sriranga Raya's grant of 1645. The annual payment of 1,200 pagodas was known as the Town Rent. It was paid regularly till about 1750 when it was remitted by Nawab Muhammad Ali.

The village of Triplicane which was the seat of an ancient Vishnu Shrine dating back to Pallava times, was not included in any of the grants upto-date. It was handed over to the English only a little later by Musa Khan, the successor of Nawab Neknam Khan, as the agent of the Sultan of Golconda. The English now got the village for an annual rental of fifty pagodas, though they had been in occupation of the place perhaps from about 1658, the particular date being unascertained.

In the second siege of San Thome, the Dutch made Triplicane the base of their operations while the French claimed several villages round about Madras, like Kodambakam, Egmore, Triplicane, Chepauk, Pudupakam and Membalam, all being claimed as having been formerly dependent on San Thome. The English urged that the French claims should be opposed and maintained that Triplicane had been in their hands, while the village of Egmore was held by their own chief merchant Kasi Viranna, *alias*, Hasan Khan. It was only in 1676, that the Sultan of Golconda issued a *farman*[10] confirming the cowle of 1672 of Nawab Neknam Khan and specifically recognising the English claim to Triplicane.

VI

In 1677, the governor (Langhorne) got a letter from Nawb Muhammad Ibrahim Khan on behalf of the Golconda Sultan, confirming the English privileges already granted and adding the right to build ships any-where on the sea coast. Gradually Golconda's authority began to weaken; and Poddili Lingappa, who became the local faujdar, acted very much as he liked.

10. A farman from His Highness the Ollumpara, dated 23rd February 1676.

Governor Master had applied for the grant of additional territory to the Sultan when the latter contemplated a visit to Masulipatam in 1678. The grant of the concessions desired by Master (*vide*. P.C. Vol. II 3rd June 1678) could not be secured, but Madanan intimated to the Madras agent at Golconda that if he should receive a present of 3,000 pagodas he would then talk concerning the renting of San Theme, and Egmore and obtain the King's leave to let the same at farm. The sum was paid, negotiations were started, but they fell through and the Madras limits remained the same as before. During the progress of the negotiations Lingappa stopped the import of grain into Madras, and later prohibited all paddy coming into the settlement except through Poonamallee and had to be answered with a punitive expedition.

Podili Lingappa, the Nawab's governor of the coast country, proved a very troublesome man. He resided at Conjeevaram and governed the Poonamallee district through kinsman of his. Lingappa had been intriguing with Kasi Viranna that he would be prepared, in consideration of a loan to be given to him, to further the affairs of the English of Madras at the Sultan's court. Master was at first indifferent to this offer and declared that the English recognised no other authority than that of the Sultan himself and that of his immediate representative, Nawab Ibrahim Khan. Lingappa was very crafty and even intrigued with the English vakil, Viraraghavayya, the son of Venkatapathi, the Brahman, and who had succeeded to his father's office in 1675. The vakil was dismissed by Master for showing undue friendliness with Lingappa, but afterwards restored. Lingappa wanted to withdraw all the coiners and shroffs from Madras and endeavoured to stop the coining of pagodas in the mint at the Fort. In 1682, he was exalted in his official rank[11] and entrusted with all the authority over the country that Nawab Neknam Khan had previously governed. Kasi Viranna had died in 1680; and Lingappa now freed from his intercessions, naturally tried to riase his demands on the English.

Gyfford endeavoured to make peace with Lingappa and to get a new cowle from the Sultan of Golconda. Lingappa demanded a very high payment for himself and gave his protection to the interlopers. He received the very large amount of 7,000 pagodas, on condition that the interlopers should no longer be protected by him

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11. 'Our Brameny Egyb Viraragaviah', writing in May from Golconda, announced that, 'Brameny Accana...ordered Bramine Lyngapa to take upon him the Government from Kisna river as far as all the Carnatica country as Nabob Yecknam Cawn had formerly, and made him the Chiefe person of all those countreys...Wherefor it is very necessary to keepe a fitt person of the Company to be by Podula Lyngapa.' The succession of Nawabs of the Carnatic after Neknam Khan appears to have been, Musa Khan 1672, Number Khan 1673, 'Muskimia' 1675, Muhammad Ibrahim 1677, Poddala Lingappa 1682. (The Agents's letter to Fort St. Geore, dated 17th May 1682.)

and that he should secure a new cowle from Golconda which continued the rent of Madras at 1,200 pagodas per annum.

President Yale had plenty of trouble with the Mughals who swallowed up Bijapur and Golconda and consequently became masters of their acquisitions in South India. Towards the end of 1687 Mughal authority was firmly established over the districts of Chingleput, Poonamallee and Conjeevaram. In October 1687, news reached Fort St. George that Golconda had fallen into the hands of Aurangzeb after a protracted siege; and a few days later, the forces of the Mughals had appeared at Conjeevaram and taken possession of Poonamallee and Fath Khan was appointed Subadar of the country and the governor of Chingleput. In November, news was received that Muhammad Ibrahim now called Mahabat Khan was incharge of Golconda and that the Brahmins, Sanganna, Narappa and Madananda Pantulu were confirmed in theie former government of Conjeevaram.

A Note on the Cultural Background of Political Struggles in Mediaeval Deccan

BY

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INDIAN History is being re-made as well as re-written : re-made in the sense of reconstructing our national life, and re-written literally along modern lines. The latter is an important aspect of the former which is a complex process. Since life is continuous, it must grow out of historical roots. Whatever be the ramification of the branches they must continue to be fed with the ancient sap. Our culture is that sap—it is the very very life-blood which has shaped our destiny. It is in this vital sense that I propose to deal with the cultural background of our political life at one important stage in our history. Though the value of cultural history is increasingly appreciated it is yet to find recognition as a vital element in the making of our history. In the present stage of Indian Histriography a chapter of a summary character, descriptive of literature and art, is deemed sufficient to make good the defficiencies of old style histories. If I might indulge in a bit of orthodox analogy: Culture follows in such history books, like the old-fashioned Indian wife, even where she is not muffled in a Burqa, still detached from the husband and at a respectful distance behind him: But it is not to be ignored that behind the veil of social convention they share a common life and if anything, the better half—not infrequently the dominating partner. In other words, it is culture that shapes political activity with its military concomitants. Kings, courts and battles are the outer manifestations of a people's cultural life—which is their real life.

In the compass of this short paper I shall illustrate the thesis with a few glimpses of Deccan history in mediaeval times.

By the Deccan I mean hear the central part of India, enclosed between the two seas with the Narmada and the Mahanadi in the North and the Krishna in the South. This table-land (geologically the oldest and stablest part of our country), with its marginal coastal fringes, has played a part in our cultural history also unequalled by any other part of India. By mediaeval I mean, from the death of Harsha to the death of Aurangzeb. This millennium might appear to you to be too wide a span for my specific concrete treatment, but I shall pick out from it only a few typical facts.

The first outstanding fact is the defence of the Deccan by Pulekesi II against the northern incursion by Harsha. It was a vindication of the strong individuality of the Deccan which is itself the composite product of several forces in history. Ethnically it was not either purely or largely Dravidian like the South or Aryan like the North. It was a synthesis of the more robust elements in both which had survived the impact of the Aryan and the Dravidian in the Deccan. Even the Scythian and other central Asiatic elements had flowed into this matrix to form an adamantine amalgam; and if the exotic origin of some of the Konkan people (like the Chitpavans and Navayats) is to be admitted, many more elements have found their place in this composition. The bedrock of the aboriginal natives like the Kolis and Bedars (wrongly called Berads) has not played an inconspicuous role. In the time of Pulakesi the amalgam, as we now see it, may not have been completed, but its main character had been determined. It was to become stronger as centuries rolled on and other invaders came. Whatever the local variations in the different parts of the Deccan, the Deccanee, in the composite and comprehensive sense, has shown certain 'national' traits of an unmistakeable character through out his history. Among these his toughness of fibre and spirit of independence are not the least. Though these physical and moral qualities have made him somewhat too individualistic, and defiantly rebellious at times, they have also made for his keen sense of self-respect and robust patriotism. These were the qualities which evoked the admiration of the chinese Huen Tsiang.

There was nothing radically different between the eclectic faith of Harsha and the tolerant Hinduism of Pulakesi and their subjects —culturally speaking. But geography, language and local traditions had marked out the Deccan as a cultural bloc to stand up for its seperate independent existence, apart from the Trans-Vindhyan as well as the southern Dravidian. To this bloc belonged the Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, and Yadava kingdoms before the later crystallisation Marhtha, Kannada and Telugu peoples arose, Prior to the emergence of these latter provincial patriotisms—standing apart from the Northern Hindusthani as well as the southern Tamilian. The false values attached to Dynastic heroes, by historians totally ignoring the people and their culture, have been the source of preposterous claims in terms of modern provincial distinctions. Where the people were as yet undifferentiated and the rulers made no differentiation on the ground of sections of their subjects being either Marathas, Andhras or Kannadigas, it is both unhistorical and ridiculous for modern historians to speak of a Maratha Empire or Karnatak Empire or Telugu Empire, during the early Mediaeval period. The accident of the founder (often mythical ancestor) of a ruling family having come from an Andhra or Karnatak village (not fully identified) is made the basis of the

ancient glories of Andhra or Karnatak. The rulers themselves, it is admitted, never tried to impose any sectionalised culture upon their subjects, their civil and military officers as well as personnel were drawn from all classes of their people, and they patronised the arts and literature and even worship according to dissenting creeds like the Jaina. Under these circumstonces it is misleading, if not wrong, to speak in terms of modern distinctions. It is proper to speak of a Telugu, Kannada, or Tulu Empire. Huen Tsiang's description, it is interesting to note, has been appropriated by the Kannadigas as well as Marathas—as if it applied to themselves exclusively in the modern provincial sense. One wonders what use provincial historians would have made of it, if the chinese pilgrim had blamed instead of praising the Chalukyans. The point I wish to emphasise is that, during the earlier or Hindu period of Mediaeval Deccan history, there was a cultural hamogeneity in the Deccan which is not to be forgotten or ignored. Its literary, artistic architectural and other cultural heritage is the common legacy of the Deccan to India. In Ellora we have an object lesson in the juxtaposition of the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical excavations. There is niether Maratha, Kannada nor Andhra there—all is Deccanee. We have in both moments something to be proud of as in the other relics of Ajanta, Amraoti, Nasik, Etc.

But there was another and a weaker side in our mediaeval Deccan culture. That was in the sectarianism and sacerdotalism which were rampant on the eve of the Muslim conquest. During the creative period of the Hindu culture the Deccan was strong and politically independent. The Deccan that withstood Harsha might have also defended itself against Alauddin Khilji. There was nothing inherently wrong in Hindu culture that made the Deccan vulnerable in the face of Islam. Its resurgence under Vijayanagar and the Marathas demonstrated its potential vigour. What rendered the Deccan indifensible under the last of the Yadavas was the state and character of its culture then. There were Kings, ministers, generals and armies just as they were under the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. But the cultural perversions which described in my 'Maratha History' (just published) deprived the state of its vitality to resist. Hindu Deccan had to pay for this dearly by generations of suffering and misery. Without a strong cultural revival galvanised by continuous suffering there could be no political revival. In short, the way to Raigad lay through Pandharpur: Maratha Svaraj was the outer shell created by *Maharashtra-Dharma* for its own preservation. The cultural movement was the cause; and the political organisation its effect. Once it was born, it tried to maintain the integgrity of the Deccan. 'Deccan for the Deccanees' was Shivaji's rallying cry.

To turn to the Muslim side of the situation: the newly founded Bahmani Kingdom as well demonstrated the effects of the Deccanee tradition. Like the Hindu Pulakesi and Shivaji, the Sultans of the Deccan held out for the independence of the Deccan against the imperialist aggressor of the North. It was not merely a war against political aggression, but also a fight for existence on the part of the Deccanee Muslim community which had come into existence under conditions different from those of Northern India. This is too large a theme to be elaborated here, ánd I must summarily indicate it by a few allusions. Society and culture even among the Muslims of the Deccan were not identical with those of the North. Apart from their Shia creed, they were marked by several other distinctions. The supply of original Muslims being less perennial, those who came to stay in the Deccan permanently were isolated from the outer Muslim world. Hence they became more dependent upon and were more largely influenced by local conditions and people. They evolved a *modus vivendi* which soon differentiated them from foreign Muslims. The faction fights between the foreign Muslims and the Deccanee Muslims which darken the pages of their history and undermine the Deccanee Muslim Kingdoms ultimately, were not merely political phenomena. The fight against the Mughals without and the fight against the foreignors within were but facts of the same *Kulhr-Campf.* Deccanee Muslim culture has given us Deccanee architecture as well as solid contributions to Urdu literature.

The assistance that Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda Sultans largely got from Hindus like Shahji, Shivaji and Sambhaji —so far as the war against the Mughals was concerned—indicated (whatever their internal emnity) that foreign aggression into the Deccan was to be averted or resisted. In this attitude the Muslim Chand Bibi and Malik Amber as well as the Maratha leaders were of one mind. Exceptions to this rule were of a temperory character due to passing military exigencies. Shivaji's considered policy was to support the Deccanee Muslims against the foreign Muslims, even though his ultimate object might have been to overthrow the political domination of the Deccan even by the Deccanee Muslims.

This. brings us face to face with another ticklish part of our enquiry,—viz., the Hindu-Muslim relations. The scientific historian cannot and must not shirk it. Provincialism and communalism are the Scylla and the Charybdis of the modern Indian historian. Having commented upon the former, I must not run away from the latter. Like the desire (conscious or otherwise) to glorify one's province, a rational sensitiveness towards one's religion has tended to vitiate history writing. We must look history squarely in the face, though it may be pox-marked. Only by recognising a disease can we overcome it. History need not repeat itself with all its errors.

History has its warnings no less than its inspirations. In order to avoid the pitfalls we must locate the pits: as well in the writing of history as in the making of new history. To ignore or overlook this is to reduce history to propaganda.

Religion is the foundation of culture. In mediaeval times the two were inseparable. Hence it is no wonder that it powerfully influenced the conduct of men and societies. It is the task of the historian to see how exactly and in what sphere of activity and to what extent religion and culture affected individual and political relations, on the other. The wars and faction of medieval Deccan need to be re-examined from this angle.

In Hindu times, no doubt, religion did not wear a political complexion. It was essentially a matter of individual faith, and social in the sense of caste which determined the food one could eat, with whom he could eat it, whom one could marry ; and where one could worship. Political fights were dynastic, where they were not due to purely personal ambitions. The only instance of faction-fight of a religious character that I know of, before the advent of the Muslims, was between the Lingayats and the Jainas. The decline of the latter was due, in no small degree, to the rise of the militant Vira-saiva sect. The conversion of the Jania-basadi of Aihole (Bijapur Dist.) into Saiva temple is a standing monument of religious fanaticism in the pre-Muslim period (Vide my "Jainism and Karnatak Culture"). On the eve of Alauddin Khilji's invasion of the Deccan sectarianism was again rampant in the Deccan—particularly on account of sharp differences between the Mahanubhavas and the Sanatanis. Allegations by the one against the other of having invited the Muslims are not proved but need to be investigated. Likewise the palace revolutions at Devagiri prior to the accession of Ramadeva Rao need to be looked into from the point of view of sectarian antagonisms. But, barring a few sporadic symptoms of this character, religion hardly influenced political happenings in mediaeval Deccan in the Hindu period. However, as I have hinted at before, cultural disruption, in the shape of the multiplicity of conflicting sects ; and cultural perversities, in the shape of sacerdotal fabrication ; of innumerable ceremonials and rites,—along with the lack of grit and leadership on the part of Ramadeva Rao, paved the way to the Islamic conquest of the Deccan. The Yadavas were therefore, in this sense, a source not of inspiration but warning to later times. *Yadavi* is therefore an ominous word in more than one sense.

The constructive and political significance of the cultural reactions that ensued from the Islamic conquest of the Deccan have been discussed by me in my new ***Maratha History***. The resurgence

had no doubt a very strong religious side; but it was not less cultural in the wider sense giving rise to political organisation and military conflict.

Islam had entered Northern India as a militant and conquering faith; its character in the Deccan remained essentially the same. Under local conditions and exigencies that faith undoubtedly underwent important modifications. Its truculence, if not also its vigour, were tamed or toned down in course of time, but not until it had given rise to equally vigorous if not equally truculent reactions. Ultimately a workable *modus vivendi* was found socially speaking. As a community or as an important element in Deccanee society the Muslims had come to stay. They had been tolerated as well as actively patronised by the Rashtrakutas during the period of peaceful penetration by Muslims who came into the Deccan as travellers, traders or even as missionaries. But when they became successful conquerors some of the Muslim rulers did act fanatically apart from acts of war. Modern histotians should not gloss over these. It is not necessary to do so. On the other hand their recognition has a wholesome moral for us which constitutes one of the salutory influences of history reading. There have been good kings as well as bad among all peoples. If there was a Humayun among the Bahmanis he was as much a hateful tyrant to the Muslims as he was to the Hindus. The invasion of Deva Raya I of Vijayanagar was as much destructive to the Muslims of the Deccan as the Muslim incursions into Vijayanagar were to Hindus. But it is important to remember the distinction between religious wars and political wars. To cite European illustrations: the Thirty Years' War was a religious war; the wars between Catholic France and Protestant Germany thereafter were political wars. Once the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan had come to stay as permanent political entities in the South their wars ceased to be religious wars. Destruction was wrought on territories by all invaders, Hindu as well as Muslim without singling out followers of particular faiths. These were mercenary troops of both religion engaged by the belligerents. The victors were political adventurers not religious crusaders; the victims were the helpless masses among whom were Hindus and Muslims alike.

This brings me to the last point that I want to stress, Viz., the Economic aspect. It is an anachronism to read modern economic motives into mediaeval Deccan history as one recent writer has attempted to do. I refer to Mr. Lalji Pendse's book on Shivaji: धर्म की क्रान्ति? The class-struggle theory is to too controversial to be

lightly touched upon. But the economic condition of a people, especially from the point of view of the distribution of wealth or the good things of life, is too important as a basis of culture to be ignored or lightly dismissed. Its direct bearing on the political and military struggles in mediaeval Deccan ought to be carefully and closely studied without being obsessed with doctrinal theories.

In short, my plea is for a total view of History uninfluenced by Provincialism or even Economic materialism.

Narahari Tirtha and Kalinga Country

BY

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SEVERAL stone inscriptions relating to this great religious teacher, discovered in the Sreekurmam and Simhachalam Temples and noticed in the Annual Reports of the Madras Ep. Dept., were recently published in the South Indian Inscr. Vol. V and VI. From these, we learn that Narahari Tirtha was the disciple of Ananda Tirtha and that he lived from A. D. 1264 to 1293, in Kalingadesa firstly as a religious teacher in Bhamdeva's reign (1264–78) and secondly as the governor to the great Kalinga Emperor Narasimha II (1278–1305).

Sri Kurmam Temple Inscr. No. 1233 dated S'1193 or A. D. 1271 records the fact that Bhanudeva's minister granted the village of Khoma or Korni in Ganjam Dt. for the welfare of the King and for offerings to God *by order of the King's protege, the sage Narahari Tirtha,* to fifteen Vaishnava Brahmin Nayakas. Some of them were holding offices like Sthapati (Head of the Temples), Upadhaya (Teacher), Puranapati (Reciter of Puranas), Sasanadhikari (Keeper of royal records), and Senadhiswara (Head of the army). The sage himself presented into the treasury of God the village of Kudupri. The same Temple Inscr. Nos. 1251 and 1252 dated S'1186 or A. D. 1264, the last year of Narasimha I's reign and the first of Vira Bhanu's record the gift of 3 Madas or Nishkas (gold coins) by the Sage for feeding Vaishnava Brahmins on the occasion of Srijayanti festival for the happy delivery of Srikrishna by Devakidevi.

This is clear that this sage enjoyed the special favour of King Bhanudeva of (Kalinga) Orissa (1264–78). The names, Narasimha and Bhanudeva, taken up by every alternate King from the begining of the 13th Century to the middle of the 15th Century, the several land and cash gifts made for the benefit of Vaishnavite gods and Brahmins and the construction of new Vaishnavite Temples as at Arasavilli (Ganjam Dt.) and Konarka (Orissa) clearly suggest new Vaishnavite influence introduced into the Kalinga Empire by both Narahari Tirtha and his followers. The Kings that ruled before Narasimha I were all ardent Saivites. For this new religious change in both Kalinga and Andhra Kingdoms, Narahari Tirtha was

greatly responsible. He was one of the greatest ecclesiastical statesmen of the times. The same Temple Inscr. No. 1288 dated S'1204 or A. D. 1282 which belongs to the 5th reigned year of Narasimha II states that Narahari was employed as a *Mandalika* or Provincial governor and that in his presence, several valuable gifts were made for god of Srikurmani. This statement is supported by Literature. The Madhwa Vijaya Kavya and Narahariyat stotram state that this sage was initiated into Madhwa or Dvaita cult by Ananda Tirthi or Madhwacharya and asked to go to the Kalinga Emperor to obtain from him the images of Sita and Rama. Hence he reached Kalinga Capital and acted as Regent to the boy King Narasimha II for 12 years and obtained as Reward the images which were duly handed over to the Guru. Narahari spread his Dvaita Cult through out Kalinga and Andhra kingdoms and died on the bank of River Tungabhadra in the Chakra Tirtha monastery built by himself. He died about 1333. His regency lasted for 12 years from A.D. 1281 to 1293 when he resisted from Kalinga. An inscr. of the Temple No. 1172 dated S'1225 or A.D. 1293 records that Narahari, the disciple of Ananda, set up images of Rama, Seeta and Lakshmana in Sreekurmam Temple and endowed for god's worship in his Treasury 51 ganda madas, 16 Kalsapanas some utensils and 19 Saries. Several inscr. relating to him are also found in Simhachalam Temple (vide S. I. I. Vol. VI). The oddadi mateya Vamsa kings became converts to his Cult and built monasteries and made several gifts to the god. An inscr. No. 1171 S'1203 or A. D. 1281 found in Srikurmam states that he protected the country against the invasion of the Savaras and built a temple for Yogananda Narasimha. He was mainly responsible for spreading Dvaita Cult in Kalinga and Andhra.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER THE BAHMANIDES

BY

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THE medieval period of the Deccan is rich in history. The Bahmanide rule, in particular, which formed the first great Muslim Empire in the Deccan, has left memorable high water-marks in the medieval culture of this country. Their administration of the country, their organisation of the Central and Provincial governments, and their contribution to the medieval culture as a whole, are memorable events of the past which can never be forgotten. Their judicial organisation in particular, which was a part of their general administration, is by itself a clear proof of the genius and sound administrative ability of the Bahmanides.

In a short monograph like this, it is rather impossible to present a vivid picture of the Bahmanide conception of Justice and the nature and working of their judicial administration. It needs at least the span of a book. We shall, however, try to bring to light the salient features of the administration of justice under the Bahmanides which, despite the shortcomings of the age and the want of facilities, seems to have no parallel in the contemporary states and which in fact, according to its efficiency and highly developed form, seems to be better than the present age.

Origin of the Bahmanide Institutions.

The Bahmanides, undoubtedly, had their own form of judicial administrations, but it was not of their own creation. As a matter of fact, they inherited this institution, along with others, from that sacred land which was the birthplace of the mighty Muslim nation. The Muslim institutions of government and administration came to India first through the Arabs in Sindh,[1] and then through Baghdad and Turkistan, they came to Lahore[2] and thence to Delhi.[3] And,

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1. Wahed Husen: Administration of Justice During Muslim Rule in India, p. 18, Dr. Qureshi: Administration of the Sultante of Delhi, p. 3. Also see Mohamadullah; Administration of Justice of Muslim Law, p. 57; Elphinstone: Hist. of Med. India, pp. 302–303.

2. D. Qureshi, pp. 3–4, Tripathi: Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p. 9; Mohamadullah, p. 57.

3. For detailed study, see Dr. Qureshi.

when the Deccan became a part of the Delhi Sultanate, the judicial administration of the Deccan, like its general administrative machinery, formed a part of the provincial organization of the Sultanate. When during the period of the decline of Mohamad Tughluq's reign, there sprang up in the Deccan a new flourishing Empire, the founders of this mighty kingdom had before them the model of the Delhi Administration which, by itself, was highly organized and was unparalleled in that age.[4] The Bahmanide Institutions were therefore naturally influenced by the ultimate which had, by itself, inherited all its institutions, through various means, from Arabia. Yet the Bahmanides modelled and reshaped their institutions according to the local needs and gave a local colour to what they inherited from Delhi. It is therefore a study of the Muslim administration of Justice on the Deccan soil which forms an interesting piece of study.

The Bahmanide Conception of Justice and the Rule of Shara.

The Bahmanides in general were great followers of the Shara. It is rather strange that during their rule, the Deccan had become the centre of the learned and great Muslim scholars and preachers. They had their influence not only on the public at large, but even the Sultans were influenced by their wise and lawful guidance.

Hasan was the first king to introduce Islam and enforce Muslim law through a settled government in the Deccan.[5] He was a strict adherent of the Shara. He tried to follow even the Muslim law of war to his utmost, e. g., he distributed the booty or 'Chanimah' amongst his fighting men[6] and this practice was also followed by his successors.[7] Mohamad Shah I was very much particular in guarding the rights of his people. Firoz was very strict in observing the laws of the Shara.[8] In the words of Haji Mohamad Khandhari, he lived such a saintly life that he earned his living by writing a part of the Quran every day.[9]

"کریم النفس دیندار بود - وجہ معاش خود از کتابت مصحف حاصل
میکرد - وحرم محترم لباسہا را نقش کرده می فروخت و معاش خود را
ازان مہیا ساخت"

Ahmad Shah was also a very strict adherent of the Muslim law.[10] People used to call him 'Wali', a saint, and he was remembered as

4. For detailed study, see Dr. Qureshi.

5. Malkapuri: Mahbub-ut. Tawaric, p. 212.

6. Ali bin Azeezullab: Burhan-e-Maathir, pp. 21, 24.

7. Ibid. pp. 64 etc.

8. See Ferishta, pp. 306-308, Shirazi: Tazkiratul Muluk, p. 9. Also see Ahmad Shah Bahmani by Zaheeruddin Ahmad, pp 23-26.

9. Shirazi, p. 9.

10. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, pp.82-86.

the 'Just Monarch' or Imam-e-Adil.[11] Allauddin II and Mohamad Shah Lashkari were also great rulers who tried their best to enforce Muslim Law.

We shall now see what great authors and men of opinion have said about the justice and equity of the Bahmanides. Their opinions throw light on their conception of justice. Nizamuddin Aulia had said about Hasan اسکندر یار ملکی و دارائی دین و داد i. e., king of the country and promoter of the Faith and Justice.[12] When Hasan entered Gulbarga after his triumphant victory, people welcomed him thus :

بگیتی همه خوبی از داد تست - کجا هست مردم همه یاد تست

i.e., the world seems beautiful only due to your justice.[13] Ali bin Azizullah has much praise for his just and equitable nature.[14] Isami, the Firdausi of India, says about his justice[15] :

بعهدش زبیداد دوران خجل - زعدلش هوائے جہان معتدل

علاالدین آن شاہ گیتی پناہ - کہ آسودہ در عہد او داد خواہ (عصامی ص۹)

وازین پس کشادی در عدل و داد - رہ فتنہ بستی ازین خوش بلاد

(عصامی ص۵۷۴)

Hasan was so particular about administration of justice that even in his last days when he was seriously ill, he used to sit in a palace near the Durbar and see the complainants with his own eyes.[16] According to Ferishta, he also used to hold the Durbar every day both in the morning and in the evening, and used to dispense justice despite his weakness.[17]

According to Malkapuri, Mohamad Shah I was better than his father in justice and fairplay.[18] Ali bin Azizullah addresses Moha-Mohamad Shah II as Sultanul-Adil and highly praises his judicial administration.[19] Ali has also great admiration for Firoz and praises his just nature in high terms.[20] Rafiuddin Shirazi also says about Firoz that he was unequalled in justice and fairplay.[21] Ahmad Shah was, according to Ali, benefactor of the people and harsh to the oppressor.[22]

With these opinions of others, let us now see what the rulers themselves have to say about justice. Their sayings also go to

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11. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, pp. 132, 134.
12. Burhan, p. 12
13. Burhan, p. 20
14. Burhan, p. 31
15. Isami, pp. 9, 574
16. Malkapuri, p. 200
17. Ferishta, p. 280; Malkapuri, p. 200
18. Malkapuri, p. 277
19. Burhan, pp. 36–37
20. Burhan, pp. 52, 53
21. Shirazi, p. 9
22. Burhan, p. 72

prove their ideal of justice. The founder of the kingdom advised his son Mohamad Shah I on his deathbed[23]:

ز نیکی بند ہ گنج ہر روز بیش - کہ فرجام ہم نیکی آید بہ پیش

پناہت بہ داد آفرین باد وبس - کہ از بد جزا ونیست فریاد رس

Mohamad Shah I also advised Mujahid Shah to be a just and lawful monarch.[24] Firoz, likewise, advised Ahmad Shah to administer justice as his first duty, to protect his people and to behave well with his relatives.[25] In his long advice to his son, Allauddin Ahmad Shah also included administration of justice as the king's greatest duty and said[26]:

عدل و انصاف را جناح دولت و بازوی سلطنت دانند

After the opinions of the Sultans, let us now consider their actions which will enable us to form a clear picture of their sense of justice. If the story of the coins connected with Allauddin Hasan has any truth, it alone goes to prove the just nature of the founder.[27] When Ismail Mukh raised the banner of revolt and was killed, Hasan left all his relatives untouched,[28] nay, he even pardoned all those who had followed and prompted Ismail.[29] It is also strange that Ismail's son Bahadur Khan was honoured with the title of Amirul-Umera, and his daughter was married to Prince Mujahid.[30] There was no distinction of great and small for Hasan in administering justice. He never interfered with the Hindu religion and his Hindu subjects were free in their personal laws.[31] Hasan never killed a Brahmin in his lifetime.[32] Hindus used to hold him as their 'Avatar' and the Muslims as 'Wali'.[33]

When Mohamad Shah I was found fault with by Hazrat Shaikh Zainuddin for his addiction to liquor and for his not following the Shara law, the Sultan refrained from wine and closed all the wine-shops in the city. In accordance with the Shaikh's advice, Sultan also ordered his governors to put an end to thieves and the dacoits in their respective jurisdictions. Consequently, the Shara was strictly observed in the State.[34] Mujahid, in accordance with his father's advice, never ordered for a general massacre.[35] Mohamad Shah II used to say that the treausury was a public trust in the hands of the king.[36] He gave grants to the blind and treated them with such kindness that even healthy persons sometimes made themselves blind so as to enjoy the facilities.[37]

23. Burhan, p. 30
24. Burhan, p. 33.
25. Ahmad Shan Bahmani, p. 42
26. Bukhshi, p. 34
27. Ferishta, p. 274
28. Burhan, p. 19.
29. Malkapuri, p. 209
30. Ferishta, p. 288
31. Malkapuri, p. 213
32. Malkapura, p. 212
33. Malkapuri, p. 214
34. Ferishta, pp. 294-295
35. Ferishta, pp. 296-298
36. Ferishta, 302
37. Ferishta, p. 302

Firoz was once looking through the window of his palace. He saw a Faqir going along with a bowl in his hand. He called for him and looked into the bowl. There were some dry pieces of 'Jawar' and this touched Firoz to the quick. He ordered that Jawar should not be cultivated in his kingdom and that the cultivation of wheat should be encouraged instead. He also constructed special asylums for the poor and the disabled where they were given bread and 'Halva,' a special sweet preparation.[38]

Ahmad Shah did not even spare the grandson of Hazrat Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. He was punished for drinking, in public, wine and adultery according to the Shara. Ferishta therefore says that people forgot even the story of Anu-Sherwan.[39]

Allauddin II passed orders against beggary and idle living. No one could beg in the Metropolis. They were induced to labour and those who disobeyed were either imprisoned and forced to do some work or were asked to leave the city.[40] During the reign of Muhamad Shah Lashkari, administration of justice was so prompt and the oppressor received such a quick punishment that in the words of Ali bin Azizullah[41]:

نکردی هیچ کس از ظلم فریاد - قبای گل نگشتی پاره از باد
بجز مطرب کے رہزن نبودی - بر ھنہ کس بجز سوسن نبودی

The just nature of the Bahmanides is proved by the fact that they did not even spare princes and the royal family was not immune from punishment. Mujahid, for example, was punished by Muhamad Shah I for robbing some coins from the treasury.[42] Toleration with the non-Muslim subjects is also a case in point. The Hindus were free from the Jizia, though the law demanded Jizia from them.[43] They even built temples for their Hindu subjects and gave them grants.[44] They were also included in the administrative machinery.[45] The Bahmanides did not give place to religious bigotry in justice.[46]

The Law.

Let us now glance at the law which was followed by the Bahmanide Courts. The Muslims that came to India were generally the Sunnis of the Hanafi pursuation. The majority of the Muslims coming to India in the medieval ages consisted of the Turks, and all the Turks, whether Seljuks, Ghaznavides, or Ghoris, were Hanafis.[47] Mahmud of Ghazna, and then the Ghori and Shamsi

38. Shirazi, p. 9, 10
39. Ferishta, p. 333
40. Malkapuri, p. 552
41. Burhan, p. 108
42. Ferishta, p. 296
43. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, p. 69
44. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, p. 13–14
45. Ibid, pp. 11, 74
46. Malkapuri, pp. 274–277
47. Willson: Anglo Mohamadan Law, p. 25.

Sultans, had obtained their recognition from Baghdad, and the Caliphs at Baghdad were also of the Hanafi sect. Though in Turkistan there were other sects too, yet at the completion of the Indian conquest the Hambalite and the Shafeite Schools enjoyed little patronage at Khorasan and Transoxania. As the Ulema hailed chiefly from these places, they brought Hanafi religion with them to India.

The Bahmanides too, like the Sultans of Delhi, were Sunnis of the Hanafi School.[48] and the majority of the Ulema that came to the Deccan either from the North or from outside, was of the Hanafi pursuation. Thus the State religion was Hanafi.[49]

In the administration of justice, the courts had to follow, like the Delhi Sultanate, the Holy Quran, the Sunan, the consensus of opinion of the Prophet's followers, the Ijma, and also the individual judgments. The decisions of the cases by the Delhi Sultanate were also like precedents before the Bahmanides.

The Judicial Department.

The Bahmanide Court were organised and modelled according to the Shara,[50] and the judicial powers and functions were carried on by the Qazis.[51] The courts used to follow and enforce the Shara law. The Sultans themselves used to inspect the courts and also used to read the Qazis' decisions.[52] They also guided the Qazis on certain points to reach the right decision.[53]

It is not possible here to show the gradual development of the Bahmanide Judiciary and to give its complete account. We shall, however, see, in brief, the arrangements both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

Courts at the Centre.

There were two kinds of courts at the centre: civil and criminal.[54] The highest court of criminal appeals, and to a certain extent, also the original court, was the Durbar where the Sultan himself used to dispense justice.[55] The High Court for Civil and Criminal Appeals was the Sadr Adalat of Gulbarga which was presided over by the Sadr or the Qaziul-Quzzat.[56] There was also

48. Malkapuri, 213, 421
49. Malkapuri, p. 423
50. Malkapuri, pp. 87, 417
51. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, p. 60
52. Burhan, 37-38
53. Burhan, p. 37-38
54. Malkapuri, p. 87
55. Malkapuri, 84-86. Also see, Prof. Majeed Siddiqi: Organization of the Central and Provincia Govts. of the Deccan under the Bahmanides.
56. Malkapuri, p. 87

a "Daftar-e-Shahi" presided over the Wakil-e-Mutlaq. Here came cases in appeal from the Sadr Adalat, and the Daftar only forwarded the appeals to the king with its due legal opinion.[57] In other words, this Daftar was like the Judicial Committee in Hyderabad today. Sadr Jahan was also the highest official of the Ecclesiastical Department and consequently, all religious matters and disputes came to him in that capacity.[58] Besides these civil and criminal courts, there was also a Subordinate Criminal Court and a Subordinate Civil Court at the Centre and both of them were presided over by the Qazi-e-Gulbarga.[59] In addition to this, there was a Kotwal's Court exercising original jurisdiction in petty criminal cases.[60] There was also a Muhtasab's Court presided over by the Muhtasab and a court of the Qazi-e-Askar presided over by the Qazi of the Cantonment.[61]

It will be interesting to note here that the Sadr, who was the highest official of the judiciary, was also one of the eight ministers at the centre who formed the Bahmanide Cabinet.[62] In other words, the head of the Judiciary had his voice in the central administrative machinery. This was, more or less, like the modern arrangements at Hyderabad where the Sadrul-Maham-e-Adalat or the Law Member is the head both of the Judiciary and the Ecclesiastical Department, and also a member of the Executive Council.

Judicial Officers at the Centre.

After having had an idea of the courts at the centre, let us now see the judicial officers. First come the Sadr or Sadre Jahan who was not only the Qaziul-Quzzat of the Sadr Adalat-e-Gulbarga, but also the head of the Empire's Judiciary and also a Minister in the Cabinet. There were under the Sadr Qazis, Muftis, Muhtasabs, Foujdars, and Daroghas etc., who formed the Staff of the Sadr Adalat. The Sadr was appointed by the king and was directly responsible to him.[63] This important office was often held by extraordinary personalities. The first Sadr, for example, was the great scholar and jurist, Moulana Sadrus-Shariff Samarqandi.[64] He never tolerated the interference of the king in judicial matters as, according to Orthodox practice and Muslim traditions, the judiciary was independent of the Executive and the Muslim ruler had no right to interfere with justice. Qazi Sadruddin Shariff went

57. Malkapuri p. 417
58. Ferishta: 277-281, 284, 825
59. Malkapuri: 75, 87, 89
60. Siratul-Mahmud by Aziz Mirza, p. 46
61. Ferishta, 277; Ahmad Shah, p. 13
62. Organization of the Central and Provincial Govts., p. 10-12
63. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, p. 61
64. Ferishta, p. 277; Malkapuri, p. 74.

"on leave" outside the kingdom and refused to resume duties unless the Sultan gave him an undertaking that the powers of the Qazis would not be taken away in future.[65] He was succeeded by a personality like Mir Fazlullah Anju who was the pupil of Allama Taftazani.[66] Sadre Jahan was a very influential person as he had close contact with the king.[67] He was next to the Wakil-e-Mutlaq in power.

Wakil-e-Mutlaq or the Prime Minister being the next to the king, used to exercise the king's powers in his absence.[68] He was also the presiding officer of the Daftar-e-Shahi and in this way, was connected with the Judiciary.[69]

There were Qazis in every city and town, and they enjoyed a respectful position. Great jurists and men of high character were generally appointed to this office. In the beginning the Qazi exercised only judicial powers, but later on, he was also to do certain other duties, such as guarding the interests and estates of the minor, administering the Waqf etc.

Attached to the Qazi's court there was also a Mufti who was to assist him in juristic matters.[70] In the Sadr Adalat and also in every Qazi's court, there was also a Muhtasab whose duty was to lock after the public morals and to guard the weak against oppression.[71] They were expected to teach the ways of Islam to the people and see to its practice.[72]

Hajib and Barbak were also connected with the Judiciary. Barbak was, in fact, an officer at the Durbar who used to look after the royal etiquette being observed by those present. He also used to make arrangements of seats at the royal court. Barbak's assistants were called Hajibs who used to stand between the people and the king and used to introduce people to the king.[73] There was no Amir-e-Hajib in the Bahmani Durbar as was at Delhi. But we find, however, Barbak and Naib-Barbak in the Deccan. Sikandar Khan Barbak and Malik Shadi Naib-e-Barbak was appointed by the founder alone.[74] There were also some Hajibs, and the king always used to keep some reliable Hajibs with him. For this reason, probably, they were called Hajid-e-Khas.[75] The leader of the Hajibs was styled Syed-ul-Hujjab.[76] Isami speaks of a title of Hajib-e-Qissa being conferred on the Qazi of Daulatabad.[77]

65. Briggs II, pp. 322–325
66. Ferishta, 302, 308, 309; Malkapuri, 396.
67. Ferishta, 302
68. Malkapur, 555
69. Malkapuri, 417
70. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, 61, 62
71. Burhan, 87
72. Burhan, 87
73. Qureshi, 59. Also see Tabkate Nasiri, 821
74. Isami, 526; Burhan, 16
75. Isami, 526; Burhan, 16
76. Isami, 527; Burhan, 16
77. Isami, 22, 526

According to Ali bin Azizullah, there was a Hajib-e-Qasba,[78] and obviously, these are new offices which were not found at Delhi.

Beside the Hajib and the Barbak, there were also the Foujdar and the Darogha connected with the judiciary. In criminal cases, the Foujdar used to write the statements of the witnesses and send the file to the Qazi who gave the judgment.[79] The Darogha was the Executive Officer of the court.[80] There were also, in each court, Katibs, Munshis, Khazanadars, peons etc.

The Provincial Judiciary.

The provincial organization, like the central, was also well developed. The Sultans used to pay more attention to the provinces than the centre. The result was that the whole government machinery in the provinces functioned as effectively as that of the Centre.[81]

The Tarafdar was the highest official in the Taraf or Suba who represented the Sultan in the provinces.[82] In every Taraf, there was a Sadr who was directly under the Sadr Jahan or Qazi-ul-Quzzat [83] For example, Moulana Abdul Ghani was the Sadr at Berar.[84] Beside the Sadr, there were also Qazis, Muftis, Muhtasabs, Hajibs, Foujdars, and Daroghas,[85] who represented the central officers in the provinces. Like the Taraf, we find such officers also in the Sarkars and Parganas.[86] In villages, which were the lowest administrative units, there were assisstants of Qazis, Muhtasabs, Foujdars[87] etc.

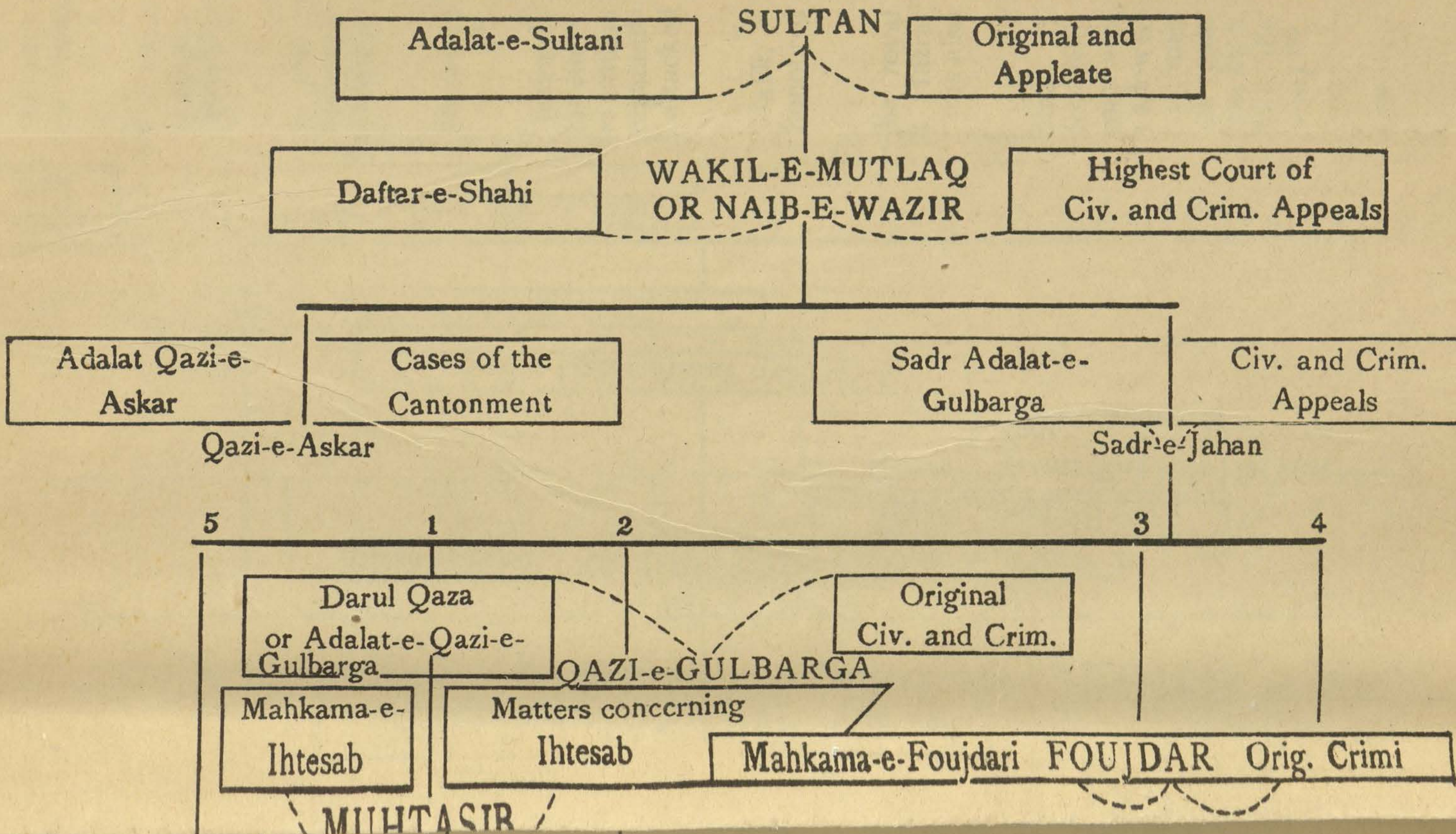
Precedents and Punishments.

The Bahmanides in general, used to pity more than to punish.[88] But despite their kind-heartedness, the Sultans seldom interfered with the Qazi's orders for Qisas or retaliation.[89] The Bahmanides did always try to enforce the laws of the Shariat to the best of their ability, though the Muslim Criminal Law could not be followed in toto.

The rebels were punished more severely than any, and a rebellion was considered as a very serious crime. Though the rebels were not brought before the Qazi and they were punished by the Sultans

78. Burhan, 16
79. 80. Malkapuri, p. 87, 88
81. Organization of the Cent. and Prov. Govts. p. 14, 16
82. Ibid. p. 14, 16
83. Malkapuri, 87, 88
84. Malkapuri, 527
85. Isami, 5, 22, 527; Malkapuri, 87, 88, 282
86. Ahmad Shah, 61
87. Malkapuri, p. 87
88. Ferishta, 280, 281; Malkapuri, 565, 567
89. Malkapuri, 553

THE BAHMANIDE JUDICIARY IN A NUTSHELL



directly, yet, before passing the sentence, the Muftis and the jurists were consulted. For example, Allauddin Hasan obtained the Fatwa before punishing Ismail Mukh.[90]

Theives and dacoits came next. Mohamad Shah I killed 20 thousand dacoits within 6 or 7 months.[91] Tyrants and oppressors who teased the people were severely punished and the gamblers and men of bad character were also punished.[92]

Melting of the coins was also considered a serious crime. When the 'Sarrafs' of the Deccan began to destroy the Bahmanide coins continuosly and did not give way despite persistent warnings, all of them were killed.[93]

Murder was prescribed for murder. Even the one who aided in murder, was also hanged to death.[94]

The rights of the merchants and people at large were jealously guarded by the Bahmanides. They even waged wars to that effect. During the reign of Mohamad Shah I, for example, some traders were bringing horses to Gulbarga. The Raja of Vellumpatam[95] waylaid them and usurped the horses. Mohamad Shah attacked the Raja.[96]

A Syed traveller once complained against Sher Malik, a respectable and famous Amir, for having maltreated and dishonoured him. The Sultan hanged him for the crime.[97]

Prince Mujahid robbed some golden coins from the royal Treasury. He was flogged for it.[98] The grandson of Hazrat Banda Nawaz drank wine and indulged in adultery; he was also publicly flogged.[99]

There is also an interesting case of whoredom or Zina. A woman was brought before the Qazi for having connection with four men. Questioned by the Qazi, she replied that as a man was allowed to have four wives, she thought a woman was also allowed likewise to have four husbands; now as she knew it was a crime, she would not do it hereafter. The Qazi was a bit puzzled as to do what. Sultan Muhamad II who had been to the Darul Qaza on a round during the course of inspection, asked the Qazi to relieve the woman as 'doubt relieved one of Hadd', (Criminal punishment).[100]

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90. Burhan, 18, 19; Khafi, 19
91. Khafi Khan, 35; Darbare Asaf, 27-28.
92. Malkapuri, 552
93. Malkapuri, 228.
94. Malkapuri, 397
95. See Gribble: Hist. of the Deccan, p. 36, 37
96. Ferishta, p. 286
97. Burhan, 73, 74; Ferishta, 328
98. Burhan, 296
99. Ferishta, 333
100. Burhan, 37-38

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An Estimate of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah

BY

NOSHIR A. MISTRI, M.A., BOMBAY.

THE story of the phenomenal rise of Sultan Quli to the sovereignty of Golconda is one of the romances of Indian History. He came as an adventurer to this land, a knight-errant in quest of a career. And he came at an opportune time when the great Bahmani Sultanate was rapidly heading towards its fall. It was a period of unrest and uncertainty when kingdoms could be made and unmade. A daring soldier, inspired by the confidence that his star was in the ascendence, might rise above the tumult, bridle the storm and yoke it to his advantage; and carve out, at the point of his sword, a kingdom for himself. And yet, he would have to go about very cautiously if he should not be crushed by the contending forces of his times. Others, like himself, might be eager to fish in troubled waters; rivals who will have to be outdistanced. He would have to wait patiently and cautiously for a favourable concourse of circumstances to declare himself.

And it is these circumstances that created Sultan Quli's career in India, and shaped his conduct. He was a PARDESI, a foreign adventurer whose youthful imagination had pictured the Deccan as the El Dorado of his dreams.[1] The Bahmani Sultans had deliberately adopted the policy of encouraging the 'Foreigners' and entrusting to them the highest offices in the State. This alienated the DECCANIS who were the domiciled Mahommedans. The mutual hatreds and strifes of the these parties convulsed the State. There were massacres and reprisals.

Sultan Quli's Loyalty to Mahmud Shah Bahmani

It was when the Deccan was seething with these passions that Sulatan Quli arrived at the Bahmani Court. He was a new-comer, and had no local standing, as some of his illustrious contemporaries like Fathullah Imad Shah or Ahmed Nizam Shah. They could count upon local support and local sympathy to sustain their ventures. Sultan Quli had to start his career with the initial disadvantage of being a PARDESI, and at a time, too, when Foreigners were in a precarious condition in the Deccan. He had necessarily to fall back upon the favour of the Sovereign whom he

1. "......... the Deccan and India were always present to my thoughts." So Sultan Quli is reported to have said before he came to this land. Quoted by Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, pp. 32–33. Cf. Briggs, iii, p. 341.

served, however worthless an imbecile that Prince might prove to be. To maintain himself, it was necessary for Sultan Quli to preserve his DE JURE status as the trusted servant of the Bahmani Sultan. That would confer legitimacy on his actions, and justify him in the eys of the pecple.

Sultan Quli, in this sense, lacked some of the advantages his contemporary war-lords possessed. And that circumstance, even if others were wanting, would have decided him in the course of his conduct. He must needs stand by the Bahmani throne as its loyal supporter, and gain by it. The Adil Shah, the Barid Shah, and the Nizam Shah could act with profit to themselves only if they pounced upon the dying Sultanate, and snatched each for himself what he could lay hands on. It was only by going into rebellion that they could hope to realise their ambitions.

Far otherwise was it with Sultan Quli. He had everything to gain by remaining faithful. He was increasing in power by "the abundance of royal favours conferred on him."[2]

Sultan Quli was consistently faithful to his sovereign Mahmud Shah Bahmani so long as he lived. It is difficult to say, however, whether loyalty was an innate virtue, or dictated by expediency. Possibly, in Sultan Quli's case, his loyalty might have been as much dictated by his good nature as by expediency. Whatever the attitude of the Barid Shah, the Nizam Shah, and the Adil Shah towards their royal master, the attitude of Sultan Quli, we may take it, was loyal to the very last.[3] He reverently mentions Mahmud Shah's name in the Khutba of Jamai Masjid at Golconda.[4] Sadr-i-Jehan, the author of the Marghub-ul-Kulub, asserts that Sultan Quli always refused the invitation of Qasim Barid and Fathulla Imad-ul-Mulk to rebel, and sieze by violence the Bahmani districts in the vicinity of his government," contenting himself with the estates conferred on him."[5]

So long as there was at least the shadow of a Sultanate, Sultan Quli was perhaps content to describe himself as the faithful and trusted servant of the Bahmani Sultan. But he certainly

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2. Burhan-i-Ma'sir, original, p. 155. Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28, p. 315.

3. Ali Ibn Aziz Allah Tabataba, the authour of Burhan-i-Ma'sir, indeed makes a statement that seems to militate against the general view of Sultan Quli's consistent loyalty till his master's death. "In the year 921 (A. D. 1515) Malik Barid-i-Mumalik, Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, Malik Dastur-i-Mumalik Dinar went to the royal capital and laid siege to the fortress of Bidar."—Burhan-i-Ma'sir, original, pp. 161–162, Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28. p. 319. We have no contemporary evidence, and even Tabataba admits eventually after consulting all the histories he had before him was that so long as the Sovereign was alive, all the amirs, waziers and maliks "did not withdraw their heads from the collars of obedience and submission."—See Burhan-i-Ma'sir, Original, pp. 161–66, and Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28. pp. 319–322.

4. An Inscription of A. D. 1518. He is found still making mention of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Epigraphia Indo Moslemica, 1915–16, pp. 19–20.

5. Quoted by Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, p. 97. Briggs, iii, p. 352.

appears to have proclaimed his independence even during the life-time of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Ferishta is emphatic and makes a definite statement that Sultan Quli declared himself independent in the year 918 A.H[6] This may not have affected his loyalty to Mahmud Shah which was a matter of personal attachment. Even after he assumed the regal state "he used to send annually magnificent presents to Mahmood Shah Bahmuny of Bidur."[7]

In that age of treachery and duplicity, Sultan Quli was indeed like a rock of integrity that nothing could move. But it would be wrong to say that soverignty was an after-thought, and forced upon him when there was no other alternative, and when his own officers earnestly urged him on the ground that "they had no one else whom they could acknowledge as such."[8] Sultan Quli himself tells us that when he and his uncle proceeded together towards India, he already fancied himself a king, because of the prophecy of his spiritual pastor, Shah Nur-ud-din that he should "one day be a king over a portion of Hindoostan".[9] He also took his solemn pledge, as he tells us; "I also swore by the Prophet and his descendant Aly, that if I ever succeeded in establishing my independence, I would promote the faith of the followers of the twelve Imams, in parts where the banners of the faithful had never before waved."[10]

That Sultan Quli was absolutely disinterested, as the Tarikh-i-Mahmad Qutb Shahi would have us believe, it would require more unimpeachable testimony to establish. Sultan Quli was a much better man than his contemporaries; not fickle and treacherous as some of them; loyal and helpful in the face of temptations. But, it must be said, that he too had his aspirations and ambitions. Only in his case, his very loyalty helped to further them.

As King.

Be the circumstances that led to Sultan Quli's assumption of Golconda sovereignty what they may, as the events proved, if any one was deserving of such exaltation, it was he indeed! if he was not a born king, he was nevertheless every inch a king. He was endowed with such qualities of heart and intellect that would have singled him out as a ruler of men in any age or clime. He was a war-lord who led his men to victory, He compelled loyalty in every stout heart. He had also the qualities that made him a great sovereign.

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6. Ferishta (Briggs, iii, pp. 322–23). According to the Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, Sultan Quli proclaimed himself asking after the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi. p. 97. Briggs, iii, p. 352.

7. Ferishta (Briggs, iii) p. 323.

8. Tarikh-i-Mahomad-Qutb Shahi, Briggs, iii, pp. 353–54.

9. Sadr-i-Jehan IBID, quoted by Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, pp. 60–6. Briggs, iii, pp. 341–342.

10. Ibid, p. 353.

Sultan Quli was a cultured and an accomplished monarch. He had early received "excellent education".[11] It was both secular and spiritual. His secular education fitted him out for a warrior and an administrator. It seems he early gave promise of what he would be so that his own people looked up to him as "the hope of his tribe."[12] He considerably improved his education by the opportunities he had at the Court of the Bahmani Sultan of Bidar.[13]

The first of the Qutb Shahs was thus no barbarian but a cultured prince whose nature was refined, both by what he learnt and by what he achieved. He had a keen aesthetic sense; and his love of art found expression in the noble edifices he built to adorn his fortress-city. The Jumai Masjid is a monument that has received the impress of his genius. He was the pioneer of a new style in Indian architecture; and its inception gives us glimpses into an aspect of this remarkable man's life which otherwise we may miss, drowned as we my be in the crowded military annals of the reign.

As General.

A man of culture and a lover of art, it was in war, however, that Sultan Quli excelled. He was pre-eminently a warrior, and the first soldier of his time. He was always in harness, compelled by the fickle, if stern necessities of war. He led his men in war, and took the field in person. He shared the dangers of the battle with the meanest of his soldiers; and none knew better how to give blows and take blows. Danger nerved him to heroic endeavour.

Sultan Quli was an unparalelled strategist and a judicious general; but above all, he was a leader who could enthuse his men and goad them to fight with the valour of giants.[14] Seldom did he fail by appeals to turn the tide of battle, and snatch victory in the face of defeat. He always kept a body of cavalry in reserve which was directed only to move when it received orders.[15] He always kept a keen watch with his eagle eye on every section of the front and at the opportune moment charged in person at the head of the reserve with tempestuous force into the enemy's ranks. Such a manoeuvre invariably turned the fate of the day.[16]

One of the favourite tactics of Quli was to feign a retreat, lure the enemy by tempting him to pursue, and turn back all of a sudden and inflict a smashing defeat.[17]

11. Ferishta, original, Vol. ii, p. 328 : Briggs, iii, 322.
12. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, p. 61 : Briggs, iii, 3400.
13. Tarikh-i-Farkhunda, p. 7.
14. Cf. Pangul incident. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, p. 112. Briggs, iii, p. 355 ff.
15. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, p. 113; Briggs, iii, pp. 355-6.
16. Battles of Ramgir and Pangul : ibid, p. 117 : Briggs, iii, 356 & 360.
17. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi : Briggs, ibid, 362. Cf. ibid, p. 352.

Telangana was studded with innumerable forts. The gaining of a battle did not immediately decide the conquest of the land. The Hindus withdrew to the shelter of the hill-fortresses from which it was a very difficult task, indeed, to dislodge them. Sultan Quli very often attempted to take the forts by escalade by a general assault from all sides.[18]

The Qutb Shahi monarch was a dashing and impetuous cavalry leader. His courage proved contagious. He charged in person just when the battle had reached a critical stage.[19] When a fort was to be stormed he was always at the van of the attacking party. His personal bravery often turned the fortunes of the day.

It was Sultan Quli's scientific generalship that gave him victory in his battles. Sometimes his confidence and audacity may appear to be amazing, as at the battle of Palunchnur. 20 But he had just confidence in himself and in God.

The Qutb Shah excelled in fighting regular battles, conducting regular campaigns and regular sieges. The Hindus were compelled sometimes to vary the plan of warfare, and take to guerilla tactics, especially in the Kondavidu compaign.[21] This so much annoyed the Sultan that he quitted Kondavidu.[22] If the Hindus had learnt wisdom from this success, and had trusted to guerilla warfare rather than to the fortunes of regular battles, it would indeed have gone very bad for Sultan Quli.

As Conqueror.

As a conqueror, Sultan Quli was ruthless. He gave no quarter to the vanquished. Sometimes he, indeed, permitted a defeated garrison "to proceed withersoever they choose."[23] and even to march out "with all their private property."[24] When he found himself before the walls of Khammamet, the historian tells us that he was unwilling to spill human blood wantonly,[25] and first tried the methods of persuasion.[26] But the Telangana campaigns were in general very sanguinary indeed. After reducing Khammamet, the victor gave no quarter "killing every man, woman, and child in the place."[27]

18. Ibid: pp. 360, 362, 365.

19. This he did at the battle of Pangul, ibid, p. 356; at the battle of Ramgir, ibid, p. 360; and at the siege of Khammamet, idid, p. 360 etc.

20. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi: Briggs, iii, pp. 363-64.

21. Ibid, p. 365.

22. Ibid.

23. After the siege of Pangul; ibid, p. 356.

24. After the siege of Ghanpura; ibid, p. 357; Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, original, p. 120.

25. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi; Briggs, iii, p. 361.

26. Ibid, p. 367.

27. Ibid, p. 362.

As a conqueror, Sultan Quli could claim the spoils of war. After the capture of an enemy's town, he sometimes distributed on the spot among his troops whatever treasures fell into his possession.[28] Sometimes, he gave a general permision to his troops to plunder a captured fort.[29]

Religion and Religious Policy.

Sultan Quli was a deeply religious man, conscious throughout his life of a mission to be fulfilled.[30] He had early in his career taken the solemn vow that he would spread the banners of the faithful where they had never before waved.[31] He believed that, in his campaigns against the Hindus of Telangana, he was waging a Jihad or Crusade. He wished to be a Ghazi or victor in a Holy war.[32] In his fanaticism, he consumed the temples of the Infidels to ashes and built mosques in their stead.[33] He was a bigot in his wars with the Hindus. He was determined to exterminate if possible, the enemies of the faith.

The Qutb Shah was, personally, perhaps, very sincere in his religious professions. He was a man of God, understanding Him and worshipping Him as a true believer. There does not appear to be any strain of hypocrisy in his conduct. And he was conscious, too, that he was waging God's battles. It was his invariable custom to dedicate his work to God and ask for His help.[34]

Sultan Quli, however, was no missionary, whatever stray statements and professions might imply. He did not feel the irresistible impulse to convert the Hindus to his faith. His idea was to defeat and reduce them to subjection. He was prepared to treat with them, and grant them terms if they submitted and paid tribute. They thereafter could rebuild their temples, and follow the idolatrous worship of their Gods.

The success of a new faith lies in its appeal to convince and win the hearts of men. The Hindus of Telangana could not have been impressed by Islam that came to them in the guise of ruthless foes who massacred and plundered, destroyed and laid waste all that they held sacred and dear. They certainly could not see in their Sultan the noblest representative of his faith. Indeed, to them he was a man not very much above the ethics of the age.[35]

28. Ibid, p. 358 : after the fall of Koilconda, Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi ; original, p. 122.
29. Ibid, Briggs, iii, p. 366. After the capture of Kondavidu.
30. See Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi, Qadar Khan, p. 236.
31. Sadr-i-Jehan, quoted in Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi ; Briggs, iii, p. 353.
32. Cf. Inscription on his Tomb. Epigraphia Indo Moslemica, 1915-6. p. 27.
33. Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi ; Qadar Khan, p. 252. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, ibid, p. 355.
34. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, Briggs, iii, p. 363.
35. Cf. the Nalgonda incident.

And above all, the soldiers Sultan Quli led to battle were not holy warriors, but professional fighting men, mostly actuated by merceneray motives, who were indeed ready to fight their Muslim brethren as readily as they fought the infidel Hindus. Sultan Quli himself felt, or pretended to feel, some qualms of conscience when faced with the prospect of waging war with his co-religionists.[36] He appealed to Imad Shah saying that "all the faithful are brethren."[36] He protested to Ismail Adil Shah against" the system of the faithful attacking each other at the instigation of infidels."[37] But in all this, he was perhaps actuated by the desire to find a justification for what he did. For, when he attacked Imad Shah and Quwam-ul-Mulk, it was not the first time he was fighting a Muslim enemy. The closing scenes of the Bahmani Sultanate which he himself had witnessed, and in some of which he had himself was actor, were full of such internecine conflicts in the fold of Islam

It is futile to read a religious motive into every one of Sultan Quli's campaigns. Religion indeed served as A POSTERIORI justification ; but in themselves, they appear to have been waged for very mundane and secular gains indeed.

As Statesman.

An accomplished Prince, an indomitable warrior and an earnest "believer", Sultan Quli possessed qualities and talents that would have marked him out in any age or country. It is difficult, however, to estimate him as a Statesman. It is not enough that a king should conquer ; he should have political sagacity to preserve what he has conquered. He should have administrative capacity to settle the subjugated territories.

The settlement of conquered territories is no easy task. After conquest must come reconciliation. The defeated peoples have to be won over by a treatment and a policy calculated to disarm their antipathy to the rule of the conqueror.

The government of a kingdom by a system of military garrisons or camps may be necessary as a war-time measure. But it would be pitifully inadequate, and incurably false, if it should be extended to peace-time. And especially when the rulers belong to a religion intolerably of other faiths, a deep chasm is effected between the rulers and the ruled. The Hindus may be made to feel that their lot was to be the drawers of water and hewers of wood, and the Muslims may become possessed of all the pride of a conquering caste.

36. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi ; ibid, p. 358.

37. Ibid, p. 369.

A sovereign, by judicious concessions and politic neutrality may succeed in winning the hearts of his subjects, even though they be of different faith. But if he should consider the spreading of his banners of his own religion to be a matter of conscience which as a missionery he cannot abandon, there could ne co reconciliation. He can maintain himself only by superior force, and the only peace that he can give to his kingdom is armed peace.

Sultan Quli was a new-comer to India. He lacked the experience that could come only by a long period of domicile during which, by a slow process of adoption, adjustment and acclimatisation one could almost become a child of the soil. His experience of the Court of the Bahmani Sultanate, and his experience, too, of his contemporary amirs must have taught him, that if he would be a ruler of men, and that a successful ruler, he would do well to leave religion take care of itself and to maintain an attitude of benevolent neutrality in a country like India with a preponderant Hindu population. The last thing that he should do is to create a feeling of fear in the people that their religion is insulted and threatened.

Sultan Quli's fitful campaigns in Telangana, and his destruction and desecration of Hindu places of worship only aggravated the feelings of estrangement between the conquerors and the Hindu subjects who were goaded to interminable revolts, and to form confederacies of all Hindu chiefs with the object of freeing the land of the Muslim conqueror.[38]

The Hindus had further to be convinced, if they were to reconcile themselves to the rule of the Sultan Quli and acquiesce in his sovereignty, that his administration was better than what they had before, and that the condition of the people would be infinitely better. There is no evidence, however, to suppose that Sultan Quli introduced a better system of administration in the territories which he conquered, neither is there reason to suppose that he introduced measures to promote the welfare of the people. On the other hand, we have reason to maintain that Sultan Quli consistently regarded Telangana as a defeated people. For he usually assumed the right of the conqueror to plunder the land which he conquered, the right to the spoils of war as the prize of victory. As sovereign, he was entitled surely to any public treasury that he could lay hands upon in the conquered cities. As sovereign, he was equally entitled to confiscate the property of the rebels. But if he distributed the spoils among his soldiers, or if he allowed them to plunder at will, surely it is not the right of a sovereign that he is excercising but that of a victor and a conqueror. The first duty of a sovereign as sovereign is to secure the welfare of his subjects. This necessitates measures calculated to bring

38. Tarik-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, ibid, p. 361.

peace and security, and also the punishment of offenders against the peace. And a statesman is judged, not merely on the strength of the measures he undertakes to punish and curb wrong-doers and rebels, but primarily only the positive measures he takes to maintain peace and security.

Sultan Quli, judged from this standard, cannot be pronounced to be a great statesman. Perhaps he had not the time, in spite of his fifty or sixty years of rule, to introduce administrative and ameliorative measures in Telangana. He was compelled to fritter away his energies in conquering and then re-conquering.

But, even if Sultan Quli had the inclination and the means to introduce measures calculated to effect an enduring settlement of Telangana, it is a matter of doubt, however, if he possessed the necessary genius of statesmanship. In this, he was very much in the same position as his illustrious contemporary, Babur, the first of the great Moghals. The one measure that is recorded of him only leaves us confirmed in our judgment about him, a measure which he took in order to prevent sedition and disaffection. Sultan Quli, we are told, on the submission of the troops of Condapilly, "directed that the mutinous troops of Condapilly should be sent to garrison Gunpoora, and those of Gunpoora be marched to Condapilly."[39] The garrison at Kondapalli was "chiefly composed of tribe of Hindoos called Naigwaries."[40]

Was this all that Sultan Quli's instinct as statesman could suggest? Then, on this analogy, Telangana could be permanently pacified only by the transplantation of whole populations. The peace of Sultan Quli's kingdom would be left undisturbed and permanently secured only with preponderant majority of a native Muslim population.

In the organisation of the Central Government and the Services, if there existed any, did Sultan Quli evince any evidence of far-reaching statesmanship? He seemed to be dictated by immediate necessities and consideration of his own safety. He seems also to be influenced by a natural partiality for the manners and customs of his own native land. His long sojourn in the Deccan should have taught him the advisability if leaving habits and customs as far as possible untouched. He must also have realised the dangers of party-strife in the State consequent on the rivalry between Deccanis and Pardesis.

For, we are told, by Ferishta, that Sultan Quli "contrary to the practice of India" introduced "the customs of Persia at his Court; among which was that of beating the nobut, or imperial

39. Tarikh-i-Mahomad Qutb Shahi, ibid, p. 368.

40. Ibid.

band five times daily."[41] If this were all, nothing much might be said about it. The age of Sultan Quli was not particularly an age of faith, and people would not have, on a question of conscience, resisted or resented such measures, however outlandish they may appear to be. But Ferishta tells us something more. Sultan Quli, he tells us, "filled all the offices of the government with his own countrymen."[42]

Perhaps, Sultan Quli was driven to this policy as a measure of safety. But it was not the policy of a statesman whose experience of the Bahmani Sultanate would have taught him a lesson that could never be ignored. Or, perhaps, Sultan Quli could not learn it, and was a victim to the inexorable necessaties of his times!

Taken all in all, we must regard Sultan Quli Qutb Shah as one of the great Princes of his age. A soldier of fortune, he rose to the high eminence of sovereignty, and became the founder of a dynasty that ruled over Telangana for nearly two centuries. But, it must be admitted, that he lacked the breadth of vision which would have enabled him to consolidate his conquests by far-sighted statesmanship and to construct a machinery of administration and law based on principles that would have established his rule on the broad and enduring basis of the hearts of a grateful and loving population.

41. Ferishta, original, p. 329 of Vol. 2. Ferishta, Briggs, Vol. iii, p. 323.
42. Ferishta, ibid.

The Qutb Shahi Kings of Golconda

(1518 A.D. to 1687 A.D.)

BY

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SULTAN QULI QUTB SHAH came from Persia, during the reign of the Bahmani King Mahmood Shah II and was appointed Governor of Telingana in 1495 A.D. He made Golconda his Capital, repaired its fort, encircled it with walls and bastions and built several palaces. He carried on wars with Telingana and annexed the neighbouring districts. He asserted his independence of the Bahmini suzerainty, after the death of Mahmud Shah II in 1518 A.D. Shitab Khan was the Governor of Warangal who asserted his independence in 1504 but Sultan Quli Qutb Shah recovered it in 1512.

EXTRACT 1.—Briggs' Translation of Tarikhi Mohamad Qutb Shahi pp. 360.

"Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah fled to Berar and Sooltan Koolly direcred his army to occupy the district of the seven tuppas after which he returned to Golconda. Here he heard that Seetaputty (Shitab Khan), the Raja of Cummamet, had presumed to lay hands on some of the Kootb Shahy districts, which lay contiguous to his country. This Raja possessed the strong forts of Cummamett, Belumconda, Wurungole, and others, and had in his service twelve thousand infantry, noted as good marksman. The King in the first place marched against Belumconda which he closely invested. The siege lasted a considerable time, till at length the King determined to make an attempt to take it by escalade, which he effected by a general assault on all sides at once, in which effort, after losing many men, he at length succeeded.

"When Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) heard of the capture of Belumconda, he immediately marched with an army to oppose the King in the field, who also prepared to receive him. The two armies met, and a battle was fought, wherein the Mohamedans lost many brave officers and soldiers from the well directed fire of the enemy's infantry, which withstood several charges of the Mahomadan cavalry; but they were at length broken, and fled leaving Sooltan Koolly in possession of all the Raja's treasures and heavy baggage; after which the King returned to Golconda.

"Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) subsequent to his defeat, fled to Cummamett, and despatched messages to the neighbouring rajas, such as those of Condapilly, Indraconda, Warapully, and Etgeer, inviting them to form a confederacy against Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, who had already reduced the greatest part of Tulingana, and was every day gaining such ground that in a short time no Hindoo chiefs would remain to oppose his ambitious views. The rajas all united accordingly, and formed a rendezvous at Cummamett. When Sooltan Koolly heard of this league, he marched to oppose them; and sanguinary action ensued in the neighbourhood of that place, when the Mahomedans, as usual, gained the victory; and the raja Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) fled, and took protection with Ramchundur Dew. The Mohamedan forces took possession of Condapilly, Indraconda, and Etgeer, while the King proceeded to reduce Cummamett, then one of the strongest forts in Tulingana; but as he was unwilling to spill human blood wantonly, he sent a message to the Commandant of the place, informing him of the defeat of his master, and requiring him to surrender the fort to the Mahomedans, which he refused to do. Several unsuccessful attacks were made in consequence, in which the Mahomedans lost many men; till at length the King resolved, as the last resource, to make a general assault on all sides at once. Sooltan Koolly led the principal attack in person; the Mahomedans, covering their heads with their shields, and being well supplied with scaling ladders, rushed on simultaneously, and although their loss was severe, they succeeded in gaining the ramparts, and drove the garrison before them. On this occasion they gave no quarter, killing every man, woman, and child in the place, excepting the females of the family of Seetaputty (Shitab Khan), who were reserved for the King's seraglio.

"When Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) was defeated, he fled, as before related, to Raja Ramchundur, the son of Gujputty, who held his court at Condapilly, and who was the king of the land and the sea-coast of Tulingana and Orissa, as far as the confines of Bengal. Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) had represented to him that Sooltan Koolly Kootab Shah had, by his persecution, at length succeeded in expelling him from his country; that he had now subdued almost the whole of Tulingana and that his next step would be to invade the country of Ramchundur, which lay contiguous to his own. Gujaputty Ramchundur, convinced of the truth of these observations and relying on the numerous forces he could bring into the field, wrote orders to his adherents to repair with their respective armies to Condapilly where he collected a host of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, all bearing lances, accompanied by Seetaputty (Shitab Khan), Vidiadry, and Hurry Chundur, as well as other rajas of note. These, having sworn to stand by each

other, marched to attack Sooltan Koolly. He prepared to oppose them with only five thousand horse and met them at the river near Palunchinoor.

"The Hindoos drew up their forces on the next day in the following order:—

"Guja Ramchundur, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and three hundred elephants, in the centre."

"On the right, his nephew Vidiadry, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants."

"On the left, Hurry Chundur, with Seetaputty (Shitab Khan) in the command of ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants; the whole of the elephants bearing several men with bows and arrows.

"Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, in spite of the disparity of numbers, determined to give the Hindoos battle. He placed his son, Heidur Khan, with fifteen hundred horse, on the right, and Futtehy Khan, with an equal number, on the left, himself taking post in the centre with two thousand horse. According to custom he dismounted in front of the army, and going down on his knees supplicated the great Disposer of events to give up the host of the infidels into the hands of the faithful; after which he mounted, and charged the enemy, driving the affrighted Hindoos before him like sheep. The Raja Ramchundur was taken prisoner and his nephew Vidiadry killed by Prince Heidur Khan's own hand; the capture, also, of all the enemy's elephants and treasure as well as of Raja Ramchundur, ensured to the King the whole of the country as far as the sea-coast. From thence he proceeded to Condapilly, which he reduced; and afterwards went to Ellore and Rajamundry, in the former of which places many Hiddoos were slain. Upon the arrival of the Mahomedan forces at Rajamundry they encamped on the banks of the Godavery, where the King received intimation that the enemy had assembled in great numbers in the woods and hills with the intention of attaking him by night. The King accordingly detached his generals, Futtehy Khan and Roostoom Khan, to watch their motions and to endeavour to cut them off. The two parties engaged, and the Hindoos, after they had lost two thousand men, fled to the forest, leaving the Mahomedans in possession of the field of action.

"Vusnad (properly Veija Nat) Dew, commonly called Gujputty, who possessed the countries of Bengal along the sea-coast as far as the confines of Tulingana, hearing of the discomfiture of Raja Ramchundur, sent ambassadors to Sooltan Koolly. A treaty was forthwith concluded, by which it was agreed that the river

Godavery should be the boundary between the Mahomedan kingdom of Tulingana and the Hindoo territory of Orissa; after which the seals of the King and Vusnad Dew were affixed, and the district of Ellore was made over to the Mahomedans."

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah was put to death in 1543 A.D. and was followed by Jamshed Quli Qutb Shah (1543-1550) and Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-1580). Ibrahim Qutb Shah built a small mosque on the steps to Bala Hissar at Golconda. The Hussain Sagar tank was also constructed during his reign. The neighbouring Hindu king of Vijayanagar, Rama Raya gave offence to the kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Bijapur, and Golconda, which resulted in marriage alliances between Golconda and Ahmednagar, and Bijapur and Ahmednagar. Then followed the league of the three sultans and the defeat of Rama Raya in 1564 A.D."

EXTRACT 2.—Chandorkar, "The Destruction of Vijayanagar" p. 171. Quoted by Father Heras in "The Aravidu Dynasty" p.. 201 foot-note.

"He (Rama Raya) then went to his own harem, spent some time with Satyabhamabai, the chief Queen, and presented many rich jewels to her. Then he went to another of his wives whose name was Devachintamani Trivegal. Her company gave him great pleasure and he made presents to her. Then he came to the drawing room of his third wife, Mana Mohini Nijaswarapi. She tried to please him in different ways. He ordered sundry fruits from his orchards and presented them to his wives. Then he visited the chamber of his mother Chandrasala. She waved many jewels over his head that evil may be warded off. He then explained to her the state of affairs, how the four kings had made a common cause in attacking him and how the temples, alms-distributing houses; and the existence of the Brahmans was threatened. He therefore intimated to her the plan of repulsing and punishing the enemy. He then fell at her feet and asked for her leave. She did not like the idea and said: "We have not hurt the Muhammadans, but even then they are all coming united. It would be better to negotiate with them". He, not approving of her advice, went away. Whereupon she consented in order to please him. Afterwards he took rest during the night in his chambers. There he dreamt that sombody was depriving him of his ear jewel and his throne and that he was being pulled down. At once he caused all the astrologers and fortune.tellers of long standing to be summoned and related his dream to them. They consoled him by saying that the enemy would be warded off, and that he would be long-lived and rule over his kingdom. He then presented them with costly cloths as well as cocoa-nuts. He also distributed 5,000 huns among the Brahmans."

Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah was the king of Golconda from 1580 to 1611. The dynasty reached its zenith during his reign. He was the founder of the city of Hyderabad. He was very fond of architecture and constructed several buildings.

EXTRACT 3.—Shah Rocco....."Golconda and the Qutb Shahs" Hyderabad.........1929, p 14.

"Early in his reign Mahomed Quli became enamoured of a beautiful Hindu dancing girl named Bhagmati, to whom he assigned 1,000 cavalry as an escort. As time passed Golconda became very unhealthy through over population, and in 1591 the king built a magnificent city a few miles away which he named Bhagnagar to commemorate his favourite mistress, Bhagmati. After she died the king was persuaded to change the name of the city to Haiderabad after Haidar, one of the titles of Ali. But the original name remained in use many years for Tavernier and Thevenot, who visited the city half a century later, speak of it as Bhagnagar, and even today the name is used by the commercial community. Bhagmati's *Baradari* can be seen about a mile south-west of the fort.

"In the new city that was laid out on the "gridiron" principle, there were two important crossing over the main road. At the junction with the road from Golconda Mahomed Quli built the *Char Minar* in 1593, and at the crossing Masulipatam he erected the *Gulzar Hauz.* In the same year the *Purana Pul* or old bridge was built. Mahomed Quli also built the *Darus Shifa* or hospital, now used to accomodate the Haidarabad Municipality offices, and in 1594 commenced the *Ashur Khana,* which stands opposite the Salar Jung palace. This building still exhibits a fair amount of fine Persian enamel work. In 1598 the *Jami Masjid* was erected near the *Char Minar.* The *Dad Mahal* or Hall of Justice was built about the same time. Several palaces were erected, e.g., the *Chandan Mahal, Hira Mahal, Lakhan Mahal,* and the *Nadi Mahal,* the last probably where the Salar Jung palace stands today. Only the names of these remain. Mahomed Quli's own palace may have stood on the site now occupied by the *Purana Haveli.*

"Mahomed Quli made extensive additions to the fort of Golconda. It is stated that he spent about £300,000 annually on public buildings.

"The Black Rocks near the Hussain Sagar tank were a favourite resort of Mahomed Quli and his successors, who laid out gardens and built pavalions and pleasure houses on the summit. But all traces of these have been eradicated by the ruthless hands of time. In the vernacular the hill is known as the *Naubat Pahar* because all official communications from the Mogul Emperors were proclaimed there to the accompaniment of music.

"Just before Ibrahim Quli's death his prime minister built the tank which is known as the Mir Jumla Tank.

"It appears that the origin of the interesting *Langar* procession, which takes place every year in the city on the occasion of the *Muharram* festival, dates from the time of Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah. Several legends are current, but the following seems to be the favourite. "Soon after Haidarabad was built a Qutb Shah prince was riding to Golconda on an elephant, which suddenly became *mast* (mad) and carried the prince into the jungle. When the news reached Golconda the prince's mother vowed she would give a certain *Fakir* a chain of gold as thick as a *langar* (the foot chain used to tether an elephant) for the safe return of her son. Some hours later the prince arrived unhurt, and the court goldsmiths were set to work on the chain, which was afterwards taken in procession to the *fakir's* hut". Another version is that the king's favourite elephant became *mast* and carried off the king for three days.

Mahomed Qutb Shah ascended the throne of Golconda in 1611 and reigned till 1626. During his reign the erection of the Mecca Masjid at Hyderabad was started.

EXTRACT 4.—Syed Ali Asgar Bilgrami......"Landmarks of the Deccan," p. 39.

"The erection of this imposing mosque was started by Sultan Muhammad (VI), in 1027 A.H. (1617 A.D.) under the supervision of Darogah Mir Faizullah Beg and Chaudhri Rangaiyah, alias Hunarmand Khan, with the help of nearly eight thousand masons and labourers. The work of its construction continued during the reigns of Abdullah Qutb Shah (VII) and Tana Shah (VIII), at a cost of eight lacs of rupees and it was completed after 77 years by the Emperor Auranzeb in 1104 A.H. When the Emperor was requested for further decoration of the mosque he read this famous couplet.

(Transactions of the world have never been completed by any one, (consequsntly) impose upon yourself as little as possible).

"When the foundation of this mosque was being laid, it is related by all contemporay historians that Sultan Muhammad (VI), after inviting the learned and pious men of the city and asked them to have the foundation stone laid by one who had never missed his prayers; but none from the assemblage having come forward, he himself laid the foundation stone by saying that he had never missed even his 'Tahaj-jud' (a prayer repeated after midnight) ever since his twelfth year. This is one of the most sublime and impressive mosques of the Deccan and it is so extensive that nearly 10,000

men can easily say their prayers conjointly. The building is 225 ft. long, 180 ft. wide and 75 ft. high; the outer enclosure is oblong whose terrace is 360 ft. each way. At a corner of the platform there is a cistern for ablution, with two long slabs measuring 8 ft. each, and it is said that these slabs belonged to a temple in Maisrum village, no traces of which are now left. The mosque is composed of triple vestibules measuring (195 × 126′ 8″) with fifteen arches in each row, and five masonic arches in front, the Northern and Southern extremeties are surmounted by two large domes. The two lofty minarets in front, of the main entrance gate and the Sundial of the courtyard, belong to the reign of Aurangzeb. The lofty colonnades and the prayer niche are fashioned out of one stone slab. According to Mons. Tavernier the stone for this niche was hewn out of the quarry by several hundred labourers in the course of five years and 700 pairs of bullocks carried it to the mosque. One of the rooms of the courtyard contains the hair of the prophet and other sacred relics. Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah (VI), named this mosque by a nickname given to the square temple of Mecca........." In the time of Aurangzeb it assumed the name of 'Mecca Masjid'. It is estimated that the total expenses of this mosque amounted to 3,000,000 lacs of Huns.

"The following verse was composed by a poet and presented to the king in commemoration of its erection.

"If the pilgrimage (going round) of noble Kaaba is not attainable to thee, come and pray in the Kaaba of the Deccan". As regards the adoption of the name of "Mecca Masjid" it is said that Muhammad (VI), had some bricks made from the earth of Mecca which were fixed over the central arch. The compiler of 'Tawarikhe Farkhunda' has given another version, that it being the peculiarity of Kaaba that it is at no time devoid of pilgrims, so is the case with Mecca Masjid that it has never been without those, who come to say their prayers and for this reason the name of Mecca Masjid was spotaneously adopted by the public and became renowned all the world over. During the Qutbshahi period 36 maunds of food was cooked and distributed to the poor every day, but during the reign of Khuld Makan (Aurangzeb) it was reduced to Rs. 12/- per diem".

Abdulla Qutb Shah ruled from 1626 to 1627. The French travellers Tavernier and Thevenot visited Golconda during his reign. The English factory at Masulipatam obtained valuable privileges from this king.

EXTRACT 5.—Sha Rocco............"Golconda and the Qutb Shahs" p. 17.

"In the early days of Abdulla Qutb Shah's reign his officers appear to have thrown many obstacles in the way of English trade

which led to the removal of the English from Masulipatam to Armagon, on the Nellore coast, in 1628. In Masulipatam the English found a half-way mart between the West and the Far East scarcely less lucrative than the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast. The factory at Masulipatam turned the eastern flank of the Portuguese in South India as the Surat factory had turned their western flank in North India and the Persian Gulf. The English had to struggle with the Dutch for a footing in Masulipatam, but the king of Golconda seems to have realised the advantage of keeping the port open to all comers, for in 1632 the English got from Abdulla Qutb Shah the "Golden Firman" permitting them to reopen their factory at Masulipatam. It contained this assurance: "Under Me the King, they shall sit down at rest and in safety." In return the factory engaged to import Persian horses for the king. The *Firman* is dated November 1632. It was renewed on the 21st February 1634, and then the importance was recognised of keeping "a continual residence" at Golconda. At any rate, we find that about 30 years later the Company had Mr. Cholmly as their agent at Golconda for the purchase of diamonds."

Ibid, P. 19.

"Let us forsake Haiderabad politics for a while in company with Tavernier, who visited Golconda on three different occasions before the entire subversion of the kingdom by the Mogul. In the record of his visit in 1645 he give us an interesting account of Mir Jumla, whom he describes as a man of great wit, understanding and justice. On the occasion of his farewell interview, on the 15th September of that year, he found Mir Jumla seated with two secretaries, bare-footed, "with a large number of papers between his toes and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his fingers and sometimes from between his toes and ordered what answers should be given to everyone." With all this correspondence on hand he attended to the salutations of military officers and dealt with four criminals, one of whom had his hands and feet cut off and was thrown on the road to die, because he had broken into a house and murdered woman and her children. Another was disembowelled and thrown on a dung heap for highway robbery. The other two were beheaded for different crimes. It was summary punishment or acquittal in those days: men were never put into prison."

On his first visit in 1642 Tavernier saw a diamond with a merchant at Golconda, which he says, was the largest stone he had seen for sale in India. It was priced at Rs. 5,00,000. Streeter calls it "The Great Table" (it was flat) and devotes a whole chapter to it in his book on the famous diamonds of the world.

Tavernier visited Golconda for the third time in 1652. On that occasion he described the visit of a young Dutch surgeon, Pitrie de Lan, to King Abdulla. "The king summoned this Surgeon and told him that he wished him to bleed him on the following day in four places under the tongue as his physicians had directed, but that he should take care not to draw more than eight ounces. De Lan returning to the Court on the following day, was conducted into a room by two or three eunuchs, and four old women came to conduct him to a bath where, having undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, they annointed him with drugs and aromatics; and in place of his own clothes, which were of European make, they gave him a garment made according to the fashion of the country. They then took him to the king, where they brought basins of gold which the physicians who were present weighed; these were to receive the blood. He then bled the king under the tongue in four places, and he did it so skilfully that, on weighing the blood with the basins he found that he had drawn eight ounces exactly. The king was so satisfied with this operation that he gave him 300 *pagodas*, which were equal to nearly 700 *ecus*. The young queen and the queen dowager having heard of it, desired that he would come to bleed them, but I believe it was more from curiosity they had to see him than for any need they had to be bled, for he was a young and well-made man, and probably in their lives they had not seen a stranger close—for from a distance the thing is not impossible, since from the place where they stay they are able to see without being themselves seen. De Lan was then brought into a chamber, where the same women who had taken him to the bath before he had bled the king uncovered his arms, which they washed well, and especially his hands, after which they annointed him with scented oil, as they had done when he went to bleed the king. That being done, they drew a curtain, and the young queen putting out an arm through a hole, the surgeon bled her, and he afterwards did the same for the queen mother. The first bestowed on him 50, and the other 30 *pagodas*, with some pieces of gold brocade." De Lan was engaged as surgeon on a salary of 800 *pagodas*, about £ 400, a year.

Tavernier's book gives us some vivid contrasts of the splendour and squalor which abound in Indian cities. We omit the squalor: here is his description of Haidarabad, or Bhagnagar as he calls it.

"The town is nearly the size of Orleans, well built and well opened out, and there are many fine large streets in it, but not being paved—any more than are those of all the other towns of Persia and India—they are full of sand and dust; this is very inconvenient in summer.

"Before reaching the bridge you traverse a large suburb called Aurangabad, a *Kos* in length, where all the merchants, brokers and

artisans dwell, and, in general, all the common people; the town being inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the King's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants, after which they return home to sleep. There are in these suburbs two or three beautiful mosques, which serve as caravansaris for strangers, and several *pagodas* are to be seen in the neighbourhood. It is through the same suburb that you go from the town to the fortress of Golconda.

"When yon have crossed the bridge you straightway enter a wide street which leads to the King's palace. You see on the right hand the houses of some nobles of the Court, and four or five caravansarais, having two stories, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, upon which stands one of the walls of the palace, in the middle of which is a balcony where the King seats himself when he wishes to give audience to the people. The principal door of the palace is not in this square, but in another which is close by; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes under which the King's Guards are stationed. From this court you pass to another of the same construction, around which there are several beautiful apartments, with a terraced roof; upon which, as upon those of the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants, there are beautiful gardens, and such large trees, that it is a matter for astonishment how these arches are able to carry such a weight; and one may say in general terms that this house has all the appearance of a royal mansion.

"When the King administers justice he comes, as I stated into the balcony which overlooks the square and all those who desire to be present stand below, opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike, at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier, which is not put up except when the King administers justice, extends the whole length of the square, and opposite the balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions, and when he has five or six in hand he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King lowers with a cord and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to His Majesty."

The ceremony of mounting guard is well described. "It is the principal nobles who mount guard every Monday each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of a week. There are some of these nobles who command 5,000 or 6,000 horse, and they encamp under their tents around the town. When they mount guard each goes from his home to the *rendezvous*, but when they leave it they march in good order across the bridge, and from thence by the main street they assemble in the sqare in front of the balcony. In the van you see ten or twelve elephants marching, more or fewer according to the rank of him who goes off guard. There are some among them bearing cages (*howdahs*) which somewhat resemble the body of a small coach, and there are others which only carry their driver, and another man instead of the cage, who holds a sort of banner.

"After the elephants, the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its sadle, upon which they place a small culverin (a long slender gun), which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a sort pantaloon, and seated in the crupper of the camel with a lighted match in hand, quickly turns from side to side before the balcony where the King is.

"You see coming after them the carriages around which the servants walk on foot, after which the led-horses appear and finally the noble to whom this whole equipment belongs, preceded by ten or twelve courtesans, who await him at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square. After him the cavalry and infantry follow in good order. And as all that affords a spectacle, and has something of pomp about it, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at Bhagnagar my lodging being in the main street, I enjoyed the amusement every week of seeing these fine troops passing, which are more or less numerous according to the rank of the noble who has been on guard in his turn.

"The soldiers have for their sole garment but three or four ells of clothes, with which they clothe the middle of the body before and behind. They wear the hair long, and make a great knot of it on the head as women do, having for sole head-dress a scrap of cloth with three corners, one of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two they tie together on the nape of the neck. They do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry a broad sword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer; this makes them not liable to burst. As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coast of mail, which hangs behind from the helmet over the shoulders."

Ibid, P. 26.

"Thevenot asserts that the mother of King Abdulla was a Brahmin lady, who had other children by her husband and was very witty, and that it was through her influene that Brahmans were largely employed by the king. He adds that the previous king, Mahomed Qutb Shah, left the crown to his eldest son, but being less beloved of the queen than Abdulla he was imprisoned and Abdulla was placed on the throne. He remained a prisoner until 1656, when he was poisoned because he offered to fight the Moguls during their attack on the fort. Apart from the statement of Thevenot, I have not come across any evidence that Hayat Baksh Begum was a Brahmin lady; but he is fairly accurate and in other matters has been amply corroborated. Hayat Baksh Begum occupies an honourable position in the annals of the Qutb Shah dynasty. We know that she was the daughter of the fifth king Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah, the wife of the sixth king, Mahomed Qutb Shah, and mother of the seventh king, Abdulla Qutb Shah. It is certain, however, that during the reign of her son, when she played a leading part in the affairs of the state, Brahmaas came into power at the court of Golconda and their influence became predominant in the next reign.

"We gather from Thevenot that some of the diamond mines were formed out by the king. People who were allowed to dig in the mines near Masulipatam had to pay the king a pagod (about Rs. 4) for every hour they worked in the mines, whether they found diamonds or not. "The king's chief mines are in the Karnatic and he has 6,000 men continually working there, who daily find near 31 lbs. weight and nobody digs there but the king".

Here is Thevenot's description of the jewel which Abdulla Qutb Shah wore in his turban :—

"This prince wears on the Crown of his head, a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value; it is a Rose of great Diamonds, three or four inches diameter; on the top of that rose there is a little crown, out of which issues a Branch fashioned like a Palm-Tree Branch, but it is round; and that Palm-branch (which is crooked at the top) is a good Inch in Diameter, and about half a foot long; it is made of several Springs, which are (as it were) the leaves of it, and each of which have at their end a lovely long Pearl shaped like a Pear; at the foot of this Posie, there are two Bands of Gold in fashion of Table-bracelets, in which are encased large Diamonds set round with Rubies, which with great Pearls that hang dangling on all sides, make an exceedingly rare show; and these Bands have Clasps of Diamonds to fasten the jewel to his head. In short, that King hath many other considerable pieces of great value in his Treasury, and it is not to be doubted, but that he

surpasses all the Kings of the *Indies* in prescious stones; and that if there were Merchants (who would give him their worth) he would have prodigious sums of money".

"Thevenot has left us a vivid word picture of the pomp displayed by the *Omras* or nobles of the court. "These Omras generally make a very handsome figure; when they go through the town an elephant or two goes before them on which three men carrying banners are mounted; 50 or 60 troopers well clothed and with bows and arrows, swords at their sides, and bucklers on their backs, follow at some distance; and after those come other men on horseback, sounding trumpets, and playing on fifes. After them comes the Omra on horseback with thirty or forty footmen about him, some making way, others carrying lances and some with fine napkins driving away the flies. One of them holds an umbrella over his master's head; another carries the tobacco pipe, and others pots full of water in hanging cages of canes. The *palanquin* carried by four men comes next with two porters for change; and all this pomp is brought up by a camel or two with men beating of timbals on their backs. When the Omra pleases, he takes his *palanquin*, and his horse is led by him. The *palanquin* is sometimes covered with silver, and its canes or *bambous* tipt with silver at both ends; the lord is to be seen lying in it, holding flowers in his hand, smoking tobacco, or else chewing *betle* and *areca*, shewing by that soft and effeminate posture a most supine dissoluteness. All (who have any considerable pay, whether Moors or Gentiles) imitate the Gentiles, and are carried through the town in *palanquins* well attended; and the *Dutch* Interpreter at *Bhagnagar* (who is a Gentile) goes at present with such an equipage, save only that instead of camels, he hath a chariot; but (at least) there is not a cavalier, but hath his umbrella bearer, his flie-drivers, and his cup-bearer".

Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan at the time when Abdulla Qutb Shah was ruling Golconda, and Bernier, another French traveller, gives the following account of Aurangzeb's attempted invasion of Golconda.

BERNIER........."Travels in the Mogul Empire"—edited by Constable and Smith, Oxford p. 16.

"During the time that Aureng-Zebe was intrusted with the government of the Deccan the king of Golconda had for his Vizier and general of his armies Emir-Jemla, a Persian by birth, and celebrated throughout Hindostan. The Vizier's lineage was not noble, but his talents were of the first order: he was an accomplished soldier, and deeply versed in business. His wealth was prodigious ....His political influence, it may readily be imagined, was also

very great, commanding as he did not only the armies of the king, but keeping in his own pay a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery.

"The jealousy of the king of Golconda was naturally awakened: and he eagerly, but silently, sought an opportunity to destroy, or remove from his presence, one whom he regarded as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient subject. Surrounded by persons devoted to the interest of the minister, he felt the prudence of concealing his intentions; but in an unguarded moment, when informed for the first time of the improper intimacy subsisting between Emir-Jemla and the queen-mother, who still retained much beauty, he gave utterance to the feelings by which he had so long been oppressed, and denounced vengeance against this powerful offender.

"The Vizier was at this time in the Karnatic; but, every important office at court being filled by his own and his wife's relations and friends, he was soon made acquainted with the danger which awaited him.........Jemla addressed a letter to Aureng-Zebe, at this time in Daulet-Abad, the metropolis of the Deccan to the following effect:

"I have rendered, as all the world knows, essential services to the king of Golconda, and he owes me a heavy debt of gratitude. Nevertheless, he is plotting my ruin and that of my family. May I be permitted, therefore, to throw myself under your protection? In acknowledgement of the kindness I anticipate at your hands I suggest a plan by which you may easily obtain possession both of the King's person and kingdom. Confide in my integrity, and the enterprise will neither be difficult nor dangerous: assemble four or five thousand of your choicest cavalry, and proceed by forced marches towards Golconda, which may be reached in sixteen days, spreading a rumour that this body of horse is escorting an ambassador from Chah-Jehan, who has affairs of moment to negotiate with the king at Bagnaguer.

"The Dabir, through whose medium the first communication is always made to the king, is my relation—my creature—and entirely in my confidence: you have only to advance with rapidity and I promise so to order it, that you shall arrive at the gate of Bagnaguer without exciting a suspicion that you are any other than an ambassador from Chah-Jehan. When the king advances, according to custom, to receive the credentials, you may easily secure his person, then his whole family, and dispose of him in the manner you may deem fit, in as much as his palace of Bagnaguer where he usually lives is unwalled, and without a ditch or fortifications of any sort. Meanwhile I will defray the whole expense of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand rupees daily during the time it may be in progress. . . . .

"Aureng-Zebe, ever intent upon projects of ambition, immediately adopted the measures proposed in this letter. He proceded at once towards the territory of the king of Golconda and with such address the plot was conducted, that when the prince reached Bagnaguer, no one doubted that this formidable body of horse accompanied an embasy from the Great Mogul. The King, as is usual on similar occasions, repaired to his garden for the purpose of receiving the pretended ambassador with appropriate ceremony and honour; and while unsuspiciously approaching his perfidious enemy, he was about to be seized by ten or twelve slaves, as had been projected, when an Omrah, who was in the conspiracy, touched with sudden remorse and compassion, exclaimed, 'Your majesty is lost if you do not instantly fly; this is Aureng-Zebe, and no ambassador'. It would be superfluous to describe the King's consternation: he fled from the spot, and mounting the first horse he could find, rode at full speed to the fortress of Golconda, distant only a league from Bagnaguer.

"Although disappointed of his prey, Aureng-Zebe felt that there was no occasion for alarm, and that he may securely prosecute his endeavours to obtain possession of the King's person. The entire spoilation of the palace was his next act stripping it of all its costly content...........He then determined to besiege the King in his fortress, but as he was without supply of the necessary munitions of war the siege was protracted, and Chah-Jehan, two months after its commencement, peremptorily commanded his son to relinquish his enterprise, and return without delay to the Deccan; so that although the fortress had been reduced to the last extremities from the want of provisions and war material, he was obliged to retire."

The last king of the Qutbshah dynasty was Abul Hasan Tanashah (1672-1687). During the reign of this king, a subsidiary alliance was entered into between Sivaji and Tanashah against Aurangzeb in February, 1677.

EXTRACT 6.—(Translation of "*Sabhasad Bakhar*"—Sen's "Siva Chhatrapati"—pp. 119–124).

Sivaji was in need of money for conquering the Karnatak; and the Sultan of Bhagnagar (Golconda) and an abundance of wealth. "Money could be procured by violence from there but the Sultan used to pay a tribute annually. Cruelty should not be committed there. An interview with him (Sultan) should be obtained by friendly means. The Raja (Sivaji) decided to have the interview arranged, by writing about it to Prahlad Pant who was his envoy at Bhagnagar. Tanashah entertained in his mind a strong suspicion. Then Prahlad Pant assured the Badshah that there was no evil intention and that the Raja would go away after a friendly visit.

To this effect was a friendly agreement made with the Raja.........
The Badshah intended to come forward to a distance to receive him (Sivaji). But the Raja sent the following verbal message with assurances of oaths :—

"You should not come. You are (my) elder brother; I am (your) younger brother; you should not come forward"... ...Madanna Pant and Akkanna Pant came forward, received the Raja, and conducted him to the city. The Badshah had adorned the whole city. Streets and lanes were all around coloured with a thin layer of *kunkum* powder and saffron. Festive poles and triumphal arches were erected and flags and standards hoisted in the city. Krors of citizens stood (by the roads) to have a look at the Raja. The ladies welcomed him by waving innumerable lamps round him. Gold and silver flowers are showered upon the Raja. The Raja distributed much wealth beyond measure and countless dresses among the people in charity and reached the Dad Mahal with all his forces ....The Badshah came forward and gave (the Raja) a friendly embrace.........For three hours he listened to the stories of the Raja's heroism. Then he presented some ornaments set with jewels, robes, horses, and elephants to the Raja and to all his men and dismissed them. The Raja and the Badshah descended from the palace and the Raja went to his quarters...............

"After the Raja had left, the Badshah was convinced that he was honest and had respected his oath......The next day Madanna Pant took the Raja to his house to be his guest........The Badshah summoned Madanna Pant and (they) selected an auspicious moment (and) again brought the Raja for a second interview and gave him innumerable jewels, ornaments inlaid with gems, elephants and horses. Then the two Chhatrapatis sat on the (terrace) of the palace and received the obeisance of all the *sarkarkuns* and Hambir Raw anb other military officers, and ornaments, robes, elephants, and horses were presented to them all, each individually and according to his valour and fame. And the Badshah said, "You should help me on every occasion". After confirming (the alliance) in this manner and taking oaths in the Raja's favour, (the Badshah) gave him leave. "I shall regularly pay the stipulated tribute every year, and you should keep in our connection, Prahlad Pant always with me". So suggested the Badshah. The Raja returned to his place. After this the principal officers of Bhagnar entertained the Raja as (their) guest. In this manner he spent a mon that Bhagnagar. With the treasures and provisions of that place he led his army towards Jingi".

The kingdom of Golconda came to an end in the year 1687 and Golconda was captured by the Mughals. Bernier gives an account of the condition of Golconda under Abul Hasan. Sarkar, in his "History of Aurangzeb gives a detailed account of the siege.

EXTRACT 7.—Bernier's Travels, p. 195.

"I shall advert to five or six facts that prove the low state of degradation to which this wretched King is reduced.

First—When I was at Golconda, in the year 1667, an ambassador extraordinary arrived from Aureng-Zebe, for the purpose of declaring war, unless the King supplied the Mogol with ten thousand cavalry to act against Visapour. This force was not indeed granted; but what pleased Aureng-Zebe still better, as much money was given as is considered sufficient for the maintenance of such a body of cavalry. The King paid extravagant honours to this ambassador and loaded him with valuable presents, both for himself and the Mogol, his master.

Second—Aureng-Zebe's ordinary ambassador at the court of Golconda issues his commands, grants passports, menaces and ill-treats the people, and in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of an absolute sovereign.

Third—Emir-Jemla's son, Mahmet-Emir-Kan, although nothing than one of Aureng-Zebe's Omrahs, is so much respected in Golconda, and chiefly in Masulipatam that the *taptapa*, his agent or broker, virtually acts as master of the port. He buys and sells, admits and clears out cargoes, free of every impost and without any person's intervention. So boundless was the father's influence formerly in this country, that it has descended to the son as a matter of right or necessity.

Fourth—Sometimes the Dutch presume to lay an embargo on all the Golconda merchant-vessels in the port, nor will they suffer them to depart until the King comply with their demands. I have known them even protest agaist the King because the Governor of Masulipatam prevented them from taking forcible possession of an English ship in the port, by arming the whole population, threatening to burn the Dutch factory, and to put all these insolent foreigners to the sword.

Fifth—Another symptom of decay in this kingdom is the debased state of the current coin; which is extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the country.

Sixth—A sixth instance I would adduce of the fallen power of the King of Golconda is, that the Portugues, wretched, poor, and despised as they are become, scruple not to menace him with war, and with the capture and pillage of Masulipatam and other towns if he refuses to cede San Thome, a place which these same Portuguese, a few years ago, voluntarily resigned into his hands to avoid the disgrace of yielding it to the superior power of the Dutch".

J. SARKAR—"History of Aurangzib", Vol. IV. p. 382.

"In time the rain ceased, the roads became dry and the rivers fordable again, provisions began to come to the Mughal camp, and the famished troops got a new life. On 21st September, after the siege had lasted nearly eight months, "the luck of Aurangzib did its work, without a stroke of sword or spear". Golconda was captured by bribery.

"An Afghan soldier of fortune, named Abdulla Pani, sur named Sardar Khan, had deserted Bijapur service for the Mughal and then left the Mughals to join Abul Hasan; and now in the decline of the Qutb shahi monarchy he had risen to be one of the two highest officers in the fort. This double-eyed traitor now sold his master to the enemy...........

"But it was not to be won without a final struggle. One last feast of the purest heroism cast its radiance on the fall of Golconda and redeemed its infamy. When the exultant Mughals were swarming into the fort and making their way to the palace, a single rider who had no time to gird his belt on or put saddle on his horse's back, fell like a lunatic on that myriad of enemies. It was Abdur Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, the one faithful man rejected with scorn all the bribes of Aurangzib, including a Command of Six Thousand Cavalry in the Mughal army, saying that "he would rather be ranked among the 72 faithful companions who perished with Khalif Hassan at Karbala than with the 22,000 traitors who overcame him". Alone he rushed against the flood of invaders, shouting, 'While I live, there will be at least one life sacrificed in defence of Abul Hasan.' He forced his way against 'a thousand swords' to the gate of Bala Hissar. But covered with 70 distinct wounds, one eye badly damaged, and the skin of his forehead slashed and hanging down so as to obstruct his vision, his horse reeling from wounds and loss of blood,—Abdur Razzaq no longer saw his path before, but did his best merely to keep his seat and gave his horse the loose rein. The animal escaped from the press and dropped him near an old coconut tree in the Nagina Bagh garden near the citadel. Here the only hero of the siege of Golconda lay blood-stained, insensible, half dead, for an entire day, and was then found out and taken to his home. Thence he was removed to the Mughal camp and nursed back to life by order of the Emperor".

The Rise and Decline of the City of Aurangabad

BY

MR. GHULAM AHMAD KHAN, EX-SUBEDAR, AURANGABAD.

I SHALL describe to you briefly the growth and the decay of the city of Aurangabad, which, in the XVII century was the largest city in the East—it was as large as what modern Calcutta to-day is!

The Biblical Expression Ichabad.................

"The glory has departed" truly applies to this city.

It is not possible to describe the history of the Deccan without mentioning the important events that were happening in the North.

To get therefore a proper perspective of the events that led to the foundation of the city of Aurangabad we have to pick up our thread of narration from the fourteenth century. How this Bahmini kingdom was established by a peasant is of interest for our Dominions as its past glory is still to be seen in the ruined cities of Gulbarga and Bidar.

It quickly rose to an extraordinary height of prosperity under this Sultan. Amongst the Mohamedans, more than any other people there are to be found instances of a romantic and adventurous life, but even amongst Mohamedans there are but few examples of such a wonderful change of fortune and still rarer are the instances where the success was unstained by cruelty. Simultaneously, further South, the fallen kingdom of Warangal had given rise to the establishment of another Empire with its seat at the banks of the River Tungabhadra, in 1336. It is said that two brothers, the scion of the fallen kingdom of Warangal were helped by a Scholarly Brahman, known as Vidya Aranya, the forest of the learning—the correct name of this city is said to be Vidya and not Viya-Nagaram.

The Bahmini kings were waging war, for over a century, with Vijayanagar, which extended from the mouths of the River to C. Comorin and from Goa to Masulipatam.

The bone of contention was our Raichur. The great Bahmini kingdom dis-integrated after a glory of about a century and a half giving rise to 5 separate principalities, BIJAPUR, GOLCONDA, AHMEDNAGAR, BIDAR AND BERAR.

At this time there was a change of dynasty at Vijayanagar and the newly founded kingdoms, taking advantage of this made the famous quadruple alliance, Berar being excluded, and fought the decisive battle of TALIKOTAH in 1565 obliterating the Empire from the political map of India.

Emperor Akbar who was ruling at Delhi, now had his longed for opportunity to fulfil his amdition to bring the country South of Narbada under his rule. Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, the threshold of the Deccan, was taken as early as 1562. The kingdom of Ahmednagar for its geographical position, was next assailed.

It is a strange incidence that in the Deccan contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, was a woman of equal ability and political talent, Chand Bibi, who ruled over Ahmednagar a realm as large as England.

The first Mughal campaign at Ahmednagar began in 1565 in the time of Akbar. The famous Chand Bibi, the aunt of the minor king was the life and soul of a vigorous and heroic defence but she was murdered by one of her factions eunuchs and became the heroine of the Romance "A NOBLE QUEEN" by Col. Meadows Taylor.

Fall of Ahmednagar led directly to the foundation of the city of Aurangabad. Malik Ambar the talented and industrious minister restored the fallen dynasty proclaiming the young prince as king and himself as his minister and viceroy at Daulatabad. The coronation took place at Parenda (Osmanabad Dist).

Malik Amber originally an Abyssinian slave, and Christian by birth, was brought up by a Muslim family and had risen to a high position during the time of Queen Chand and was her deputy.

It was in 1605 that he started building the city of Aurangabad. In English History this was the memorable year of the *GUN POWDER PLOT*, to blow up king James and the Lords and commons.

When the unfortunate King Charles I was ruling England without a parliament this city was growing in its glory.

The name of the village on which the new city of Aurangabad was built was Khirkee—or the Rockies. An old temple still exists, called. Khirkeshwar, to perpetuate the antiquity of this city. The geographical position of the site was favourable for an abundant water supply being situated in a valley of about 10 miles through which flows a perennial stream, known as *Kham* River which flows through the city separating the civil area from that of the Cantonment. Malik Amber named the city FATEHNAGAR, after his son.

In the course of 10 years the new capital became a populous and imposing city. Malik Amber is as famous in the history of the Deccan as is Raja Todar Mall of Northern India for his revenue reforms. One remarkable feature of the spirit of religious toleration of Malik Amber is that he had distinguished men of different denominations round him. It is an interesting fact that the great Maratha power, which practically wrested the Government from the Mughal Emperors, had its nurture in the city of Aurangabad. Maloji, grand-father of Shivaji, till his death, in 1619, was a great favouritism of Malik Amber and so was his son Shivaji. Maloji had two sons, one he called Shahji and the other Sharifji, after the Saint Shah Sharif. This shows to what extent religious toleration existed and what change came later.

Malik Amber built many mosques and a Christian Church is also attributed to him, of which only one solitary wall exists now.

He built the Naukhanda Palace, now in ruins which consisted of 5 Zanana buildings, a Diwani-Am, a Diwani-Khas, vast gardens and cistern and a number of baths. This place was later occupied by Asaf Jah, the founder of the dynasty of H. E. H. the Nizam by Government Officials places *Nazar* (token gift) on certain state occassions.

The Jame Masjid, which began to be erected in his time, has fifty polygonal pillars.

This imposing building, now in a disapidated condition commonly known as "Cheeta Khana", was erected by him as a meeting place for pandits and learned men of the city. But it has since fallen on evil days. During the reign of Aurangzeb it was relegated to the use of travellers as a Rest House and later the Imperial hunting cheetas and falcons were housed there. In recent times it was used as gaol and till lately was the Municipal Office of the city. It has now been repaired and restored to its previous dignified position of being used as a Town Hall.

The present city road runs through a large square stone gateway called Bharkal, which means in old Deccani Urdu, a large door, the erection of which is also attributed to Malik Amber. The most remarkable of his works for which his name, even to the present day, is a household word, is the ingenious system of water supply that he gave to the city. A canal, taken from a river about five miles from the city, consists of a series of aqueducts with ventilating shafts of masonry. It has been serving the needs of the city even to the present day, by the simple process of gravitation, since its construction in about 1616.

This system retaining all its ancient features, has now been modernised, the filters, service reservior and distribution system having been designed on new lines.

It is said that the population of the city was about two hundred thousand during the time when Malik Amber was at the zenith of his power. He had the misfortune of seeing his city ransacked and plundered by the troops of Shah Jehan in 1621, and it was then thought that the city would not recoupe even in twenty years. But such was the energy of this remarkable personality and such the prosperity of the country that within a short period the city regained its lost splendour and at the time of his death in 1626 it was stil the cynosure of the Mughal Empire.

Slowly and steadily the Marathas gained influence and power in the politics of the Deccan, about the commencement of the 17th century, so much so that the nominal Mahomedan rulers of kingdom of the Deccan were virtually controlled, both in civil and military departments by Maratha statesmen and worriors. Malik Amber also allowed them to rally round him. Mughal army, taking advantage of the death of Malik Amber, was tempted to attack the city again in the same year but did not succeed. In 1633, however, Fatehnagar, with the rest of the Nizam Shahi territory, fell to the Mughals and Aurangzeb, during the period of his second viceroyalty of the Deccan, made it his capital in 1653, and called it Aurangabad. After the great war of succession of Indian History, Aurangzeb ascended the throne of Delhi in 1658, exactly two hundred years before another epoch-making change came over India.

During the earlier part of his reign the Marathas became a real menace to the Empire.

In 1682 they assembled in the neighbourhood of the Satara Hills, three miles to the North to attack the city of Aurangabad but retired, hearing of the arrival of a vast army of the Mughals. A wall round the city was erected by order of the Emperor in the following years.

The four principal entrances face the cardinal points, the most important being the northern one called the Delhi gate. All big cities in the South at that time had their main gates invariably facing in this direction. Even the principal gate of the Peshwa's palace at Poona is called the Delhi gate.

The most important of the buildings of the Mughals period is the Mukbera, built by Azam Shah, son of Aurangzeb, in memory of his mother Rabia-Daurani, between the year 1650 and 1657—a very handsome building by itself, but a poor imitation of the great Taj at Agra. The marble used in the Mukbera was brought from

Jeypur and the traveller Tavernier mentions having met carts, laden with them, proceeding from Upper India to Aurangabad. He wrote as follows:—

> "Going one time from Surat to Golconda, I met in five days' journey from Aurangabad, more than three hundred wagons laden with this marble, the least where of was drawn by twelve oxen".

URK in Turkish means citadel, the same as ARX in Latin, or the English ARK.

This palace was built by Aurangzeb and is a magnificent group of buildings, where Aurangzeb lived. It comprises of beautiful halls for the Zanana and baths and cistems and is a typical lay-out of the Mughal gardens.

The window where he appeared every morning and received the homage of his people, as the greatest Emperor of his time, is still intact, and so is his kitchen.

The prayer hall in which he used to transcribe Koran and stitch caps, on the proceeds of which he lived a spartan life, has now been turned into a mosque.

In the same compound is to be found an interesting building known as the "Palmer Kotie" here the first bank of that name was established to pay up the arrears of the pay of the army in the first quarter of the last century.

It is said that General Bussy also lived in that house, while Salabat Jung, under his control, lived in the palace in the interior. Salabat Jung was declared the Nizam by the French in 1751. He and Bussy advanced form Hyderabad to Aurangabad which they reached in June 1752.

ORME says "The entry into Aurangabad was more-splendid and magnificient than that which had been made at Golconda. The inhabitants of the city of Aurangabad, when the suba is there, are computed at a million and a half souls.

One of the most picturesque sites in India and the pride of Aurangabad, is the shrine Panchaki (the water mill), where Baba Musafar, the spiritual guide of Aurangzeb is buried. The garden walls descend down to the bed of the river that flows by its side and the water fall, in a beautiful broad sheet, is the special feature of the place. No less an authority than Mr. Gladston Solomon, Director of the School of Arts, Bombay, has stated his opinion about this in the following words:—

> "I regard it as one of the most attractive gardens I have ever seen in the East. Within a comparatively small

area; it comprises all the fascination of an exequsite setting conjoined to most interesting historical buildings and sanctuaries. Its tanks are unique for their beautiful lay-out and charming relation to their surroundings. The remarkable hall under the tank is unique in my experience of Indian Gardens, and the little bower that looks across the smallest of the tanks towards the mosque, is perfection from the artist's point of view, offering remarkable views of sketching, I could say a good deal more if time had served".

Aurangzed died in 1707 at Ahmednagar and was buried at Khuldabad. After his death, war broke out amongt his sons and there was chaos at Delhi. Nizamul-Mulk, Fateh Jung, the founder of the present ruling dynasty of Hyderabad transferred his capital from Aurangabad to the city of Hyderabad in 1727.

The important buildings constructed in the city of Aurangabad after the death of Aurangzeb are *Shah Ganj Mosque* and Baradari of Ewaz Khan, in which are located the offices of the Subedar and the Talukdar. Damri Mahal, now in a state of complete disrepair, was constructed, it is said, from the Savings of the wages of the labourers.

From the above short resume, it will be seen that this city from a small village on a barren sheet rock rose to the eminence of the largest city in the East with a population of about a million and a half. During its ephemeral existence of about a century and a quarter it was pratically for half a century the capital of the last functioning Emperor of Hindustan. Its population now, including that of the Cantonment is about 37,000. What Omar Khayam said is truly applicable to this:—

They say the lion and the lizzard keep
The courts where Jamshed gloried and drank deep.
Bahram, the great Hunter—the wildness
Stamps over his head but never breaks his sleep.

The City of Worangal in the 15th Century as gleamed from Telugu Poetical Works

BY

R. SUBBA RAO, PROFESSOR OSMANIA UNIVERSITY.

KRIDABHIRAMAM is a very interesting drama of the Veedhi type in the Telugu literature and it reflects the condition of Warangal in the 15th century. The title of the play itself means a lovely play and it is justified by persuing its contents. Telugu dramaturgy classified plays under 10 catagories. The Veedhi type is simple with only one or two characters who generally soliloquise and if at all converse or hold a dialogue the presence of the other party is generally presumed. The prevading sentiment is of course love.

The authorship of the play has not yet been attributed indisputably to one person. The controversy is between Vallabhamatya and Sri Nadha. Majority of scholars ascribe the work ta Vallabha. There is a long genealogy of the author which is given at the beginning. But the style of the play smacks of the authorship of Sri Nadha who wrote ornate, pedantic but perfectly grammatical Telugu. Sri Nadha was a great master in portraying lovely female characters and that trait is highly pronounced in the play. Sri Nadha was the leading literary genius of his age but he has not made a mention of this play in the inventory of his works. Even the explanation that Sri Nadha wrote the drama under the name of Vallabha does not appeal to common sense unless a cogent reason is discovered for it.

After the introductory portion in which the family history of the author is stated we have the first verse addressed to a bee, expressing a surprise as to how it has left the musical atmosphere of gardens where flowers and fruits overflow with palatable juices. This is to imply that an atmosphere of wine woman and violin is to permeate the play. The bee is symbolic of a licentious young man.

A Brahmin youth, who was resourceful and brainy but did not have any money, once went to Warangal and fell in love with a damsel who was already married. The adventurous beauty also must have been moved by the cleverness of the young fellow that is why she even married the Brahmin. But the wedded life could not be felicitous for a long time because the Brahmin was not able

to acquire money for material comfort. The Brahmin left the place with a desire to make some arrangements for getting an inexhaustible fund of money and met a merchant youth whom he befriended. The name of the Brahmin was Manchana, the name of the damsel was Kama Manjari and the name of the merchant was Tittibha Chetti. Manchana charmed Tittibah Chetti by his fascinating manners and the narration of his lovely experiences with Kama Manjari. The impressionable Chetti was persuaded by Manchana to go on a journey to the great capital of Warangal. Tittibha who was a wealthy person really needed an expert who could initiate him into the haunts of pleasure. To the highest satisfaction of Manchana the plan became ripe and Tittibha agreed to go to Warangal on a pleasure trip. Then the two youths approach the rampart of the fort of Warangal and then follows a graphic descriptions of various persons met with and scenes witnessed.

In the vicinity of the rampart they come across a Medara woman, seated on a bamboo stool, then an out-caste woman just from a bath in the ditch, the third person that greeted their eyes was a Karnata woman with a pitcher under her arm. The sight of these lovely women, scantily dressed, must have inspired hope in their mind to discover more sensuous things within. Later they enter the main gate of the fort and come to the Myla Santa or unclean market. Here they met a boy vedor with an ivory box containing red pills and hawking it as Susarabhet. It was a novelty to the visitors to Warangal so they stopped the boy and enquired as to what it was. The hawker surprised at the stupidity of Manchana and Tittibha told they were depilatory pills much in demand by the women of the town. Further they entered the cultivators' hamlet, and saw some rustic damsels putting decorated cow-dung balls in front of their houses. The glowing unadorned faces of the ladies delighted the youngsters. Then they saw a Kamata woman i.e., a dancing girl with red saree, a plaited hair and some three-row-necklace round her neck. Her charming person stimulated some rhapsodical flashes from Manchana and they had to cut themselves away forcibly from the matchless beauty. Manchana and Tittibha then enter the court reserved for gamblers. The poet has given a realistic and graphic picture of the game. How hoping against hope they stake what ever they have and even lose that. Their joyous faces before the result is learnt and the ghastly disappointment represented on the face later are all depicted with a great mastery. Manchana who was already a victim to one vice did not like to devote himself to the other. He even cursed those fellows. There they met a beautiful Teli woman who was selling the scented chameli oil. She was a Veersaiva woman bedecked with prominent ornaments and a silver 'Linga' suspended from her neck. Her voice had also an enticing charm.

After going a few steps further they noticed an oil (mill) press, with a robust lady seated on the yoke, merrily singing and guiding the ox with a whip.

The next scene of attraction then was the row of tailors. Here too they witnessed many ladies who had come to the tailors either to carry away the jackets and the bodices completed by the tailors or to place orders for new clothes. The tailors were to take the measurements af their bodies. Manchana and Tittibha saw a clever tailor who had apparently put on a silly appearance and was measuring and remeasuring the chest and the back of a damsel and going wrong in the final calculation of the cloth required. They must have vied with the lot of such fellows. Next they saw a household lady preparing paste out of turmeric. Whiling their time on the main road with the sight of such pleasant scenes, they entered one more gate and came to the Royal road which was very much crowded. Elephants, chariots and horsemen frequently passed over this street. The road gave a representative picture of the aggrandizement of the capital. Manchana said to Tittibha that they should wend into cross roads or some by lanes so they could have viewes of the residences of the dancing girls.

The new comers then saw and heard some dancing and music in a Paluad Temple. The girl who danced and sang displayed such a vigour and talent in her performance that the on lookers were extremely enthused and inspired to imitate some of those blood curdling events. The poet displays here powers over poetic phraseology and rouses the sentiments to a high pitch of exuberance. The walls of the temple bore mural paintings illustrating the theme described. Then they stay for some time in the temple of the Eka Vira Devi.

Then they heard the recitation of a jakkula maid singing Kameshwari's love. This song is extremely popular amongst the Telugu speaking people. They then witness the performance of mylare heroes. Frightful acts of religions frenzy committed by the adherents of the various cults are represented. Amongst the miscellaneous items there was a maiden in a bow-posture on her back, her nose-screw was thrown in a tub and she was lifting it out of water by her nose. The damsel was also putting a handful of black beads into a thread by means of her toungue. Manchana and Tittibha were ravished by the cleverness of the performer. They then come to a group of temples, that of Keshava Swayambhoo, the family deity of the Kakatiyas, was surmounted by golden domes and turrets. Then there were the temples of Bhairawa, Chamandeshwari, Virabhadreshwara and the Buddhistic monastry, a choultry and a mosque for the Muhammadans. By this it was non and the clock on the tower opposite to the palace struck 12.

Naturally a hotel attracted the attention of the visitors. The manager blatantly asked them whether the young men were enquiring rates for food and bed both or for food alone. The terms were settled for luncheon alone. It consisted of delicious courses principal of which was camphor-rice. Resting a while after food these youthful adventuı ers started on their sojourn.

When they started again, they met a female florist who had ketaki flowers. She discerned the young men and guided at them offering her flowers for sale to them. In Andhra Desha, the institution of Pusupa Lavikas was a common sine qua non of a fashionable town. The flower gatherers plied their trade here very cleverly. They sold their wreaths garlands and nosegays in the west-end of the towns. These vendors especially women were very adept as conversationalists particularly in silly sallying. Some passages describing the virtues of Kevada flower are unique in Telugu literature.

Thence they moved to a magnificent mansion, the yard in front of which was besprinkled with scented watet and saffron powder. The whole facade was decorated with a remarkable taste. Struck by the imposing sight of the building, he enquired as to whose it was. Manchana was pooh-poohed for not knowing the divine name of the blessed person who lived in and owned the building. It was the edifice in which lived Machala Devi, the famous dancing girl and the enchanting conversationalist of the Kakatiya court of Pratab Rudra. A new picture gallery was set up there and it was turned into some thing like a museum. Its inaugural was to take place on the same day. They were told they could step in and have a look at the exhibition. They craved nothing more. Brahmins were reciting certain psalms and mantras invoking the divine aid at the inaugural. They could also see the centre of attraction and beauty, Machala Devi seated on a cushioned matress, stuffed with swan feathers. The Devi returned the bow, rising a little when the rich ornaments gingled and asked them as to who they were etc., and asked them to have a look at the paintings. The poet exploits this occasion for giving description of various paintings in which only love themes from the Puranas were depicted. The pieces of art seem to be first rate and drawn with mastery.

Leaving this place they enter into another mansion belonging to another dancing girl, where the ceremany of looking into the mirror was in full swing, the day being particularly auspicious. Manchala did not seem to be a stranger to the place and he was being urged to give a suitable present on the occasion. The next scene was a mela of Kalaswamy where such, frolics were in progress that they were losing their religious character. There were hosts of

widows. Then they heard the music of Nageswaram and were swayed by its rapturous tides of melody. They see the performance of a snake charmed and hear the music of his pipe Then they witnessed cock-fight and ram-fight. The Andhras have always taken a keen interest in these fights. They select the animals feed them sumptiously and train them cleverly. These combatants fight like heroes and when discomfeited die like bleeding warriors.

Does the play suggest that vigour, valour and virtue were disappearing from the Kakatiya regime? The Dramatist had to describe one soft and sensuous scene after the other.

Some Unpublished Muslim Inscriptions from Sholapur

BY

DR. ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI, (POONA).

SHOLAPUR is one of the important districts of the Bombay Presidency. Its head quarters of the same name has a Railway Junction Station on the G. I. P. Railway line between Madras and Bombay. It is between 17° 10′ and 18° 32′ north latitude and 74° 42′ and 76° 15′ east longtitude and it has an area of 5421 square miles.

It is adjacent to Ahmadnagar in the north, Nizam's Dominions on the east, district of Bijapur on the south and Poona, Satara and some of the Deccan states on the west.

The town of Sholapur though a long since known as such has found mention by a variety of slightly different names in a number of old writings and inscriptions described hereunder. Raghvanka, the author of Sanskrit work called Siddharamapurana as life of one Siddharama mentions him as an inhabitant of Sunnalapur which is believed to be the same place as our present day Sholapur. The famous writer Firishta describing the meeting of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar (A.H. 914–961/A.D. 1508–53) with Isma'il Adil Shah (A.H. 916–41/A.D. 1510–34) at Sholapur in A.H. 920/A.D. 1516 states in passing that the old name of this town was Sadlapur. The Burhan-i-Maathirs in narrating the transfer of Sholapur from Khwja Jahan commander of Parenda fort in Ahmadnagar territory to Kamal Khan, the general of Isma'il Adil Shah in A.H. 906/A.D. 1500, refers to this place by the name of Sundalapur. But at another place in the same work Sholapur has been referred to as Salapur. Apart from these writers we find that the three Persian inscriptions and one Marathi inscription still extant on the bastions and walls of the fort of Sholapur mention this town by the name of Sundalapur but two other Persian records also found in the same fort speak of this town as Sholapur. Despite the fact remains that the name Sholapur holds the field to this day.

It is unfortunately not possible at this stage of current researches to trace the annals of Sholapur to the beginnings of its origin and early growth. Judged, however, by the orthodox standard of modern historical investigation authentic historicity of Sholapur may

well be said to begin only from the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when this town as part of the Gulbarga Province of the Bahamani Sultanate was first provided with a massive and extensive fort of its own by the reigning Bahamani Sultan.

The site and structure of this very Muslim fort, however, presents us with a vast variety of shattered pillars and lintels as well as mutilated images and highly ornamented cult-objects of unmistakable Hindu religious inspiration which were used by the Muslims in the masonry of the walls of this stronghold and are still easily discernible. There is also a complete Hindu temple that has recently been unearthed in its open area within the walls. Moreover, the only one mosque in the fort is, no doubt, a converted Hindu temple. Though of small dimensions, it is a fine specimen of Hindu architecture generally found in the Deccan belonging to the 13th and the 14th centuries. Similar mosques, being converted Hindu temples, can also be seen in other places like Bijapur, Poona, etc.

All this goes to show that before its occupation by the Muslims during the fourteenth century of the Christian era, the town of Sholapur was in all probability a place of some religious importance probably all through the time of the various Hindu dynasties before the coming of the Muslims, such as the Devagiri Yadwas in the beginning of the 14th century, the Kalachuris (1157–1183), Chalukyas of Kalyani (973–1190), Rashtrakuts (753–973), the Eastern Chalukyas (615–1118) and the Early Chalukas (550–753).

For the purposes of an historical introduction to a paper of the nature that I am reading before you, it would be enough to attempt to review the more notable events witnessed by Sholapur from the time, the rays of authentic history are seen clearly to shed light on its fortunes. That time as already hinted at above was the close of the fourteenth century when this town was raised to the status of a fort town in the Bahamani empire. In 1314, during the reign of Alau'd-Din Shah Bahmani II (A.H. 838–62/A.D. 1434–57), his younger brother named Muhammad in collusion with king of Vijayanagra raised the standard of revolt and made Sholapur and country round it as the base of his rebellious operations. This revolt proved short lived and Sholapur was re-occupied by the Sultan's army.

After the dismemberment of the Bahamani empire between 1498 and 1527 into five independent kingdoms viz. Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar in 1490, Barid Shahi of Bidar in 1487, Adil Shahi of Bijapur in 1490, Imad Shahi of Berar in 1490 and Qutb Shahi of Golconda in 1518, Sholapur figures as a bone of ceaseless conten-

tion and clash between rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur particularly. At first it was annexed to his kingdom by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. After his death in 1510 the king of Ahmadnagar taking adavantage of the minority of Isma'il Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, suddenly occupied the Sholapur Fort and tract. Kamal Khan, the regent and guardian of the minor Isma'il Adil Shah, however, lost no time in retaking it from. Zain Khan the Ahmadnagar commander in 1511.

In A.H. 930/A.D. 1524 Isma'il Adil Shah sent one of his nobles Sayyid Ahmad Hirvi to Burhan Nizam Shah to bring about lasting friendship between the two kings. Hirvi was introduced to Burhan Nizam Shah by the latter's astute minister Shah Tahir. At this meeting an interview was arranged to take place between the kings of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar at Sholapur. On this occasion Burhan Nizam Shah sought the hand of Maryam, a sister of Isma'il Adil Shah. This request met with success and the marriage ceremony took place at Sholapur during the whole month of Rajab.

It is said that on this occasion Isma'il Adil Shah promised to give the fort and tract of Sholapur as marriage portion of this sister. The promise was not fulfilled in time and next year with the co-operation of Imad Shah of Berar and Amir Barid' the regent of Bidar, Burhan Shah marched with forty thousand strong to besiege Sholapur. Isma'il Adíl Shah on the other side came with ten thousand foreign cavalry to oppose the invader. Both the armies remained encamped forty days between the forts of Sholapur and Naldrug at a distance of four miles from each other without coming to a decisive clash. This mild affair, however, ended in favour of Isma'il Adil Shah, who retained possession of Sholapur. Four years later i.e., A.H. 935/A.D. 1528 Burhan Nizam Shah invaded the territories of Adil Shah but met with the same fate as before this time at the hands of the noted Bijapur general Asad Khan.

After the lapse of nine years when Ibrahim Adil Shah I (A.H. 941–65/A.D. 1534–57) was on the throne of Bijapur a serious misunderstanding arose between him and his Shia' general Asad Khan who was suspected by his sovereign of complicity and secret collusion with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who too was a staunch Shia by faith. Although Ibrahim Adil Shah and Asad Khan were soon reconciled. Burhan Nizam Shah with the help of Amir Barid invaded the kingdom of Ibrahim Adil Shah in A.H. 949/A.D. 1542 and this time succeeded in wresting the Sholapur fort and tract. Ibrahim Adil Shah thus defeated, went with his family to Gulbarga while his army marched back to Bijapur. Burhan Nizam Shah is said to have entrusted the control of Sholapur fort to one of his nobles and have led his forces further

towards Bijapur. Meanwhile, Ibrahim Adil Shah had won over Imad Shah of Berar to his side and with his support managed to repel the advance of Burhan who was obliged to escape with his army towards Doulatabad. In this retreat Amir Barid, the only confederate left to Burhan died suddenly and this bereavement obliged Burhan Nizam Shah to sue for peace. Shah Tahir, his minister, was sent to negotiate the terms. In the treaty it was agreed that Sholapur and its tract should be restored to Ibrahim Adil Shah and that Burhan Nizam Shah should never again claim to it. After this episode relations between the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur monarchs continued cordial and cool for some time.

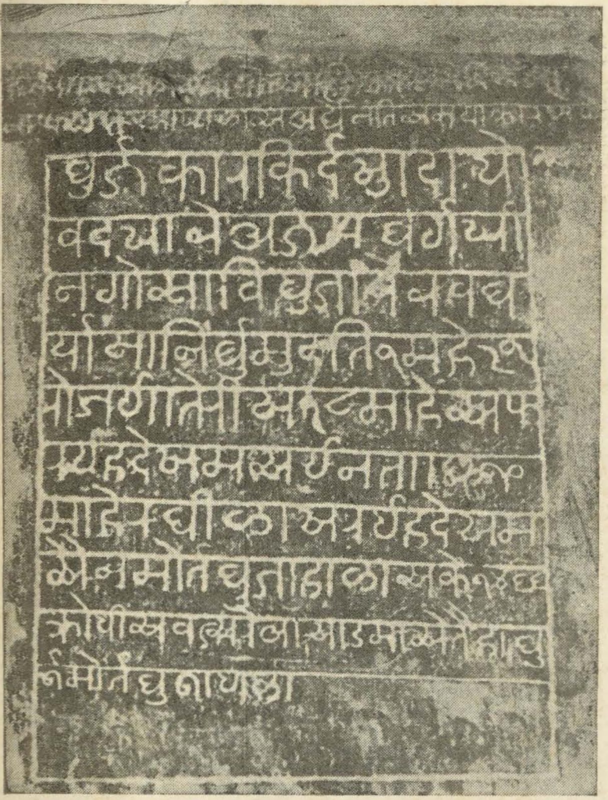
In A.H. 950/A.D. 1543 Ibrahim Adil Shah married a daughter of Alau'd-Din Imam Shah of Berar. This union unfortunately soon bred sharp disagreement between Ibrahim Adil Shah and his father-in-law. Taking advantage of this estrangement Burhan Nizam Shah formed a secret alliance with Rama Raja of Vijayanagar and Jamshid Quli of Golconda to attack Bijapur in full force. Ibrahim Adil Shah on this occasion found it advisible to peacefully hand over Sholapur fort and the country round to it Nizam Shah. Not long after, however, Burhan Nizam Shah at the instigation of Rama Raja of Vijayanagar made a sudden attck on Gulbarga to defend which Ibrahim Adil Shah had to advance from Bijapur. Although Ibrahim Adil Shah fought with the greatest valour, he failed to rescue Gulbarga from the more powerful grip of Burhan.

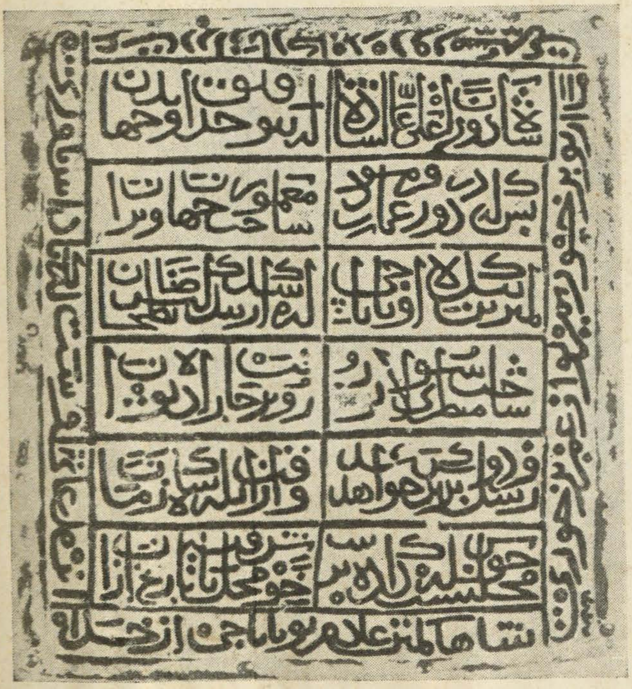
After the death of Burhan Nizam Shah in A.H. 961/A.D. 1553 peac was concluded between his successor Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah. This peace did not last long for the reason that Prince Ali son of Burhan Nizam Shah having deserted his brother took refuge at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah where it was resolved that Ali Nizam Shah should be helped to unseat his brother from the throne of Ahmadnagar in return for which help the forts of Kalyani and Sholapur should be restored by Ali Nizam to the king of Bijapur. In pursuit of this resolve Ibrahim Adil Shah marched from Bijapur to support the cause of Prince Ali. Husain Nizam Shah met the Bijapur army on the plains of Sholapur while the issue was yet undecided. Ibrahim Adil Shah died in A.H. 965/A.D. 1557. Ali was left in lurch and Sholapur continued to be ruled by Ahmadnagar king. The successor of Ibrahim Adil Shah in the very first year of his reign began to make preparations for recovering possession of the fort of Sholapur. To this end he despatched his agents to negotiate a treaty with Raja of Vijayanagara, who, however, did not show any consideration either for the ambassadors for their king, gave strong indication of his deep rooted enmity.

At this Ali Adil Shah abandoned the idea of recovering possession of Sholapur by fighting with Ahmadnagar. On the

contrary he formed a league of three Muslim powers i.e., Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda to avenge the insult, the Hindu king of Vijayanagar had heaped on him. When negotiations for the formation of this league were in progress, the Sultan of Golconda supported the claim of Ali Adil Shah to the fort of Sholapur which had previously been the main cause of strife between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. In the midst of these circumstances, with a view to firmly cement the hands of friendship between these Sultans, Husain Nizam Shah agreed to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Ali Adil Shah along with the fortress of Sholapur as the bride's dowry and accepted the hand of Ali Adil Shah's sister Hadiya Sultan for his eldest son Murtaza.. The restoration of Sholapur to the Adil Shahi kingdom in this graceful way was immediately followed by a concerted attack on Vijayanagar in 1565 with the result well-known to all i.e., the decisive battle of Talikota. Sholapur remained with Adil Shahi Sultans till 1590 when Burhan Nizam Shah II of Ahmadnagar re-opened hostilities. He made two attempts between 1591 and 1594 to retake Sholapur but both ended in failure. It was only in 1623 that the Nizam Shahi army under the able leadership of famous Abyssinian General, Malik Ambar succeeded in laying siege to Sholapur and annexed it to Ahmadnagar kingdom.

In 1635 the Mughal General Shaista Khan made a detour from Ahmadnagar, marched towards Bijapur and intimidated its king into not rendering any help to Ahmadnagar. In return for this it was settled that the forts of Parenda and Sholapur with their dependent districts will be made over to the king of Bijapur. In 1665 came the turn of Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur, he faced with the mighty hands of the Imperial Mughals under the command of Raja Jai Singh, Daler Khan and other able Generals. This time Sholapur area was annexed to the Mughal empire of Aurangzeb to serve twenty one years later i.e., in 1686 as the base of his operations by Aurangzeb for the final complete distinction of Bijapur kingdom. The fort of Sholapur at this time was managed by the Mughal officer named Manohar Khasagi Gaud as is obvious from the last inscription described below in this paper. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, his younger son Kam Bakhsh unsuccessfully proclaimed himself the emperor of India at Bijapur where he was posted as viceroy and thus for a short time Sholapur may be said to have been held by him. After the pretensions of Kam Bakhsh had been disposed by his more fortunate and victorious brother, Sholapur remained part of the rest Mughal Province of the Deccan ruled by a viceroy when the founder of the present Asaf Jahi dynasty established his own rule ouer the Deccan, Sholapur became part of his realm. Then Sholapur came under the Maratha rule and from them it was taken over by the British.





INSCRIPTIONS.

Of the ten inscriptions hereunder examined, six are in the Persian language, calligraphed in ta'liq style on stone slabs in relief and they all are in verse; and four in the Marathi language, three of them in ordinary style and the last in Modi characters.

In their chronological order, the six Persian records range from A.H. 984/A.D. 1576 to A.H. 1046/A.D. 1653.

I. The earliest of them dated A.H. 984/A.D. 1576 occurs on the inner face of the bastion of the eastern wall of the fort facing the vast lake. This records measures 21 × 24 inches. Its transcription and English translation are as follows:—

Transcription

۱ - شاه دوران علی عادلشاه   که بتوفیق خداوند جهان

۲ - بسی کرد دور عمارت خرسود   ساخت معمور جهان ویران

۳ - کمترین بنده اوبا بامی   که شد از بندگیش صابطخان

۴ - ساخت نظری سولاپور   روبرین چارده ایوان

۵ - رشک فردوس برین خواهد شد   وقت ارا سگم شاه زمان

۶ - خوش محلیست نگه واده بدست   خوش محل یافتم تاریخ آن

On the Margins

۱ - شاها کمین غلام تو بابا جی از خدا   این مدعای اوست که بادش یاوری

۲ - عمرت دراز باد که در دور مشتری   ما از تو برخوریم تو از عمر برخوری

Translation

The king of the world Ali Adil Shah, who with Divine guidance and grace carried on so much constructive work and erected so many buildings during his reign that he made the ruined and devastated world once again rich and prosperous. His humblest slave Babaji who through complete devotion to him became Zabit Khan, constructed a landscape at Sholapur and opposite to it he erected a palace with fourteen colonnades. At the time of repose and rest of the Emperor of the world, it would verily be an object of jealousy to the Garden of Eden. It is an exequite palace which has been constructed, and the date of its construction can be obtained from the (chronogram) *Khush Mahal*—Happy Palace—A.H. 984/A.D. 1576.

On the Margin

O! King your humblest slave Babaji is always supplicating and imploring God to extend His Divine aid to you for ever. May

your life prolong and be prosperous, so that during the tennur of the auspicious jupiter, we may enjoy ourselves due to your benevolence, and you may enjoy longevity of life.

II. The second record, dated A.H. 986/A.D. 1578, is found on the facade of the balcony of the northern gate of the same fort. Its original size is 14 × 31 inches. It may faithfully be transcribed and translated as under :—

Transcription

١ - بناکرد مسجد بلطف الہ
٢ - وشہ باغ بنام علی عادلشاہ
٣ - خوص طرف قبلہ بیمن الہی
٤ - شود در ایں آن آب و باشند ماہی
٥ - کار کرد شاہ علی عادلشاہ سلطان
٦ - خدمت گاری کرد بابا می ما بظعان
٧ - نائب غیبت معاملہ سندلا پور
٨ - سال ھجر ہفد ست وثما نین بود

Translation

1. By the Grace of God this mosque (2) and the royal park were erected in the name of Ali Adil Shah.

3. And by the Divine grace a fountain was built facing *Qibla* —west i.e., Mecca.

4. In the water of the fountain fish flourished.

5. It is the work of the (reign of) the Emperor Ali Adil Shah.

6. These services were rendered by Babaji Zabit Khan (7) who was the Deputy of the king in absence in the district Sundalapur.

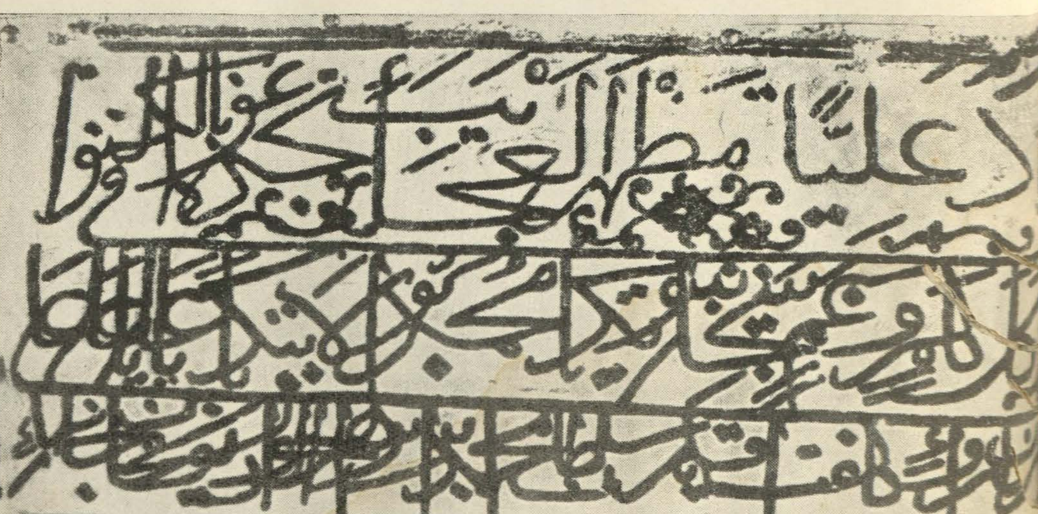
8. It was the year 986 of the Hijri era/A.D. 1578.

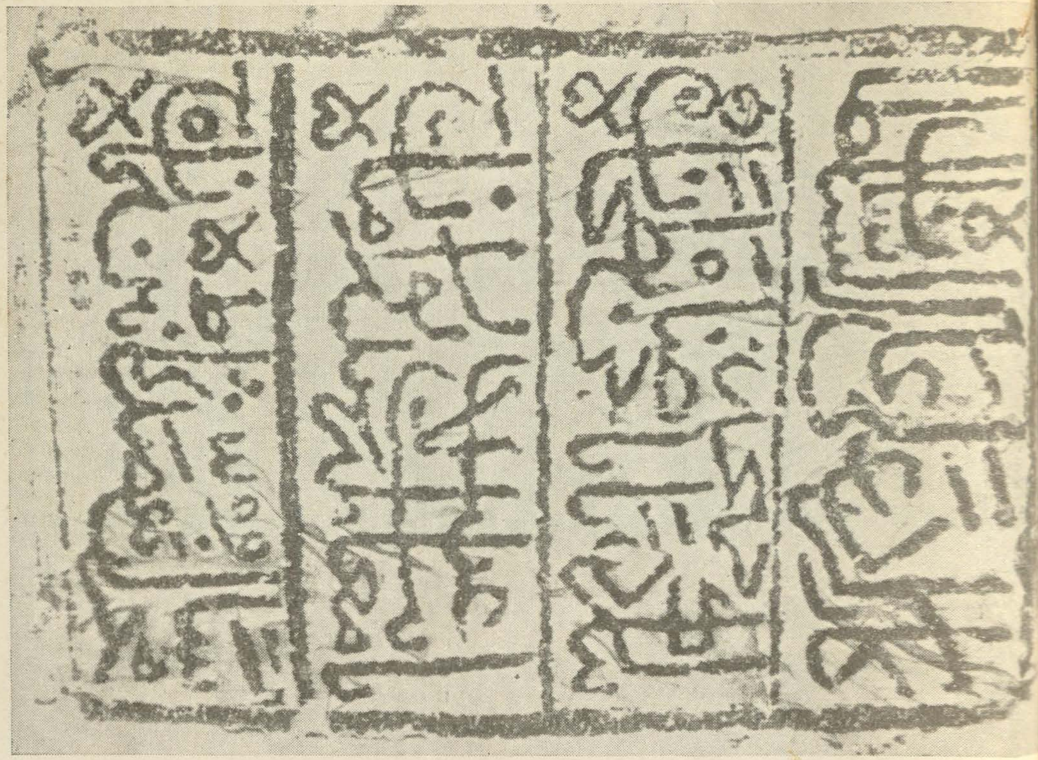
III. The third inscription is dated A.H. 988/A.D. 1580 and belongs to the Juma Masjid in the town of Sholapur where it is met with directly on the entrance wall of the mosque, which is of the usual massive architectural style that was prevalent in those days in the Adil Shahi dominions. It measures 14 × 19 inches. This record may be transcribed and translated as below :—

Transcription

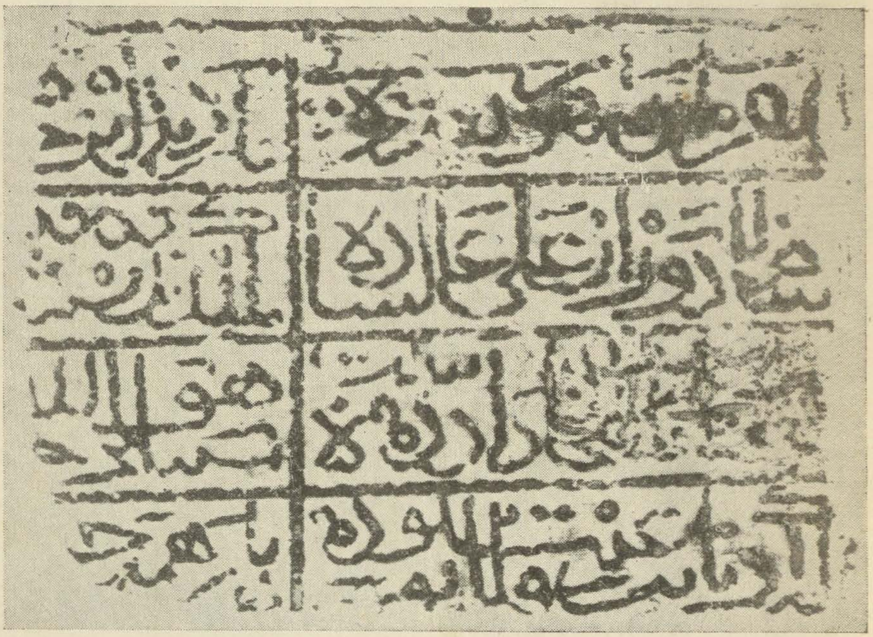
١ - کارکرد علی عادلشاہ سلطان
٢ - بناکرد مسجد بابا می ما بطغان
٣ - غائب غیبت معاملہ سندلا پور امان
٤ - ھجر سال ہفد ثما نین ثمان

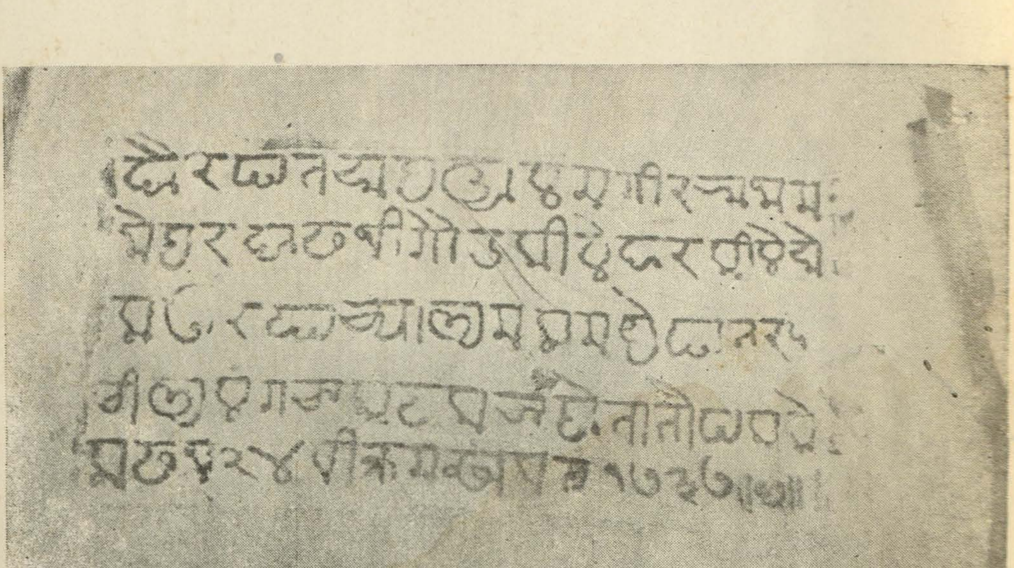












Translation

In the reign of Sultan Ali Adil Shah, Babaji Zabit Khan as governor of the peaceful place Sundalapur, in the absence (of the king) built the mosque in the Hijri era nine hundred and eighty eight (A.D. 1580).

IV. The fourth inscription is on a stone slab which is now lying loose in a broken condition near a Muslim shrine above the southern steps of the reservoir outside the fort area. This is also of the same period and is 15 × 21 inches in size. It is mutilated at some places and whatever is still legible of it, is transcribed below with its translation :—

Transcription

۱ - شد بفرمان

۲ - شاه دوران علی عادلشاه

۳ - خطاب ضابطخان داده است

۴ - کو او نائب غیبت شولاپور

Translation

By the command of........ .the Emperor of the world Ali Adil Shah..........has conferred the title of Zabit Khan, who is the governor of Sholapur in the absence (of Sultan)...........

Each of these four records noted above belonging to the reign of Ali Adil Shah, mentions one Babaji entitled Zabit Khan, the governor of Sholapur in the absence of the king and builder of these monuments during his reign. The same Babaji is also found in other three Persian inscriptions of the reign of the same Ali Adil Shah at Gulbarga fort. Sir Wolsley Haig, in describing these from Gulbarga, mentions that the conjunction of the Hindu title Babaji with Muhammadan title is peculiar and may perhaps indicate that Zabit Khan was a converted Hindu.

V. The fifth inscription in chronological order bears date A. H. 1001/A. D. 1592. It is still extant on the facade of the mosque called Kali Masjid in the town of Sholapur. The mosque seems to have recently been rennovated because its modern construction is quite unlike that of Adil Shahi days. As its transcription and translation given below will show, the text of the inscription comprises only one Persian couplet, which records the builder's name and chronogram of its construction. Its size is 10 × 22 inches.

Transcription

از محمد علی است این بنیاد
مسجد فیض عام تاریخ است

Translation

To Muhammad Ali is due this foundation. *Tarikh*—chronogram of the mosque is *Faiz-A'm* (of universal beneficience), A.H. 1001/A.D. 1592.

VI. The sixth and the last Persian inscription of this article still survives on the balcony of the inner northern gate of Sholapur fort. It is 15 × 34 inches in size. It contains the well-known Shia' creed in Arabic verse written in ordinary Tughra characters. It does not bear any definite date but the name of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah son of Ibrahim occurs therein :—

Transcription

ناد علیا مظهر العجائب تجده عونا لک فی النوائب
کل هم و غم سینجلی بنبوتک یا محمد بولایتک یا علی یا علی یا علی
فرمان روای هفت اقلیم سلطان محمد بن ابراهیم——یوسف خان

Translation

Proclaim Ali as the manifestation of marvels. He will certainly protect thee in calamities. Every care and grief will be dispelled by thy prophecy O! Muhammad. By thy sanctity O! Ali, O! Ali, O! Ali. The monarch of the seven climes Sultan Muhammad, son of Ibrahim, son of.........................son of Yusuf Khan..........

Turning now to the four Marathi inscribed records, we find that they contain many Persian usages with a local tint which shows that this mixed language has been prevalent in the Deccan side by side the Persian language which was the court language of the Sultans of the Deccan. This Persian influence on the Marathi language is apparent even to day. This is the reason that their free translation along with their transcription in Roman characters is given below.

I. The earliest of them 9 × 26 inches in dimensions is on a stone fixed in the face of the right side of the burj of the second enclosure of the Sholapur fort. It is a three line record written in illegible Devanagri script. Only its date Saka viz. 1329/A.D. 1407 is legible and therefore this record does not obviously lend itself to transcription.

II. The second Marathi inscription dated Saka 1466, is on a stone slab which is fixed in the face of a side of a pillar of the pavillion overlooking the lake adjoining the Sholapur fort. It measures 19 × 23 inches.

Transliteration

Line (1) Burj karakirda Khudaye (2) vada Khane Ajama bargakhi (3) na gosavi burjasena vaba (4) rya khanirbu mudati 1 mahe 21 (5) rojai tarikha 18 mahe sapha (6) ra ihade khamssaina ta cha 10 (7) mahe rabilakhra ihade khama (8) saina mortabu jahala saka 1466 (9) karodhi sevatsare asadamase tai ha bu (10) rja moratbu jahala.

Translation

This bastion was built by Khudawand Khan-i-'Azam.........? Its erection took one month and twenty one days i.e., from 18th Safar (year) (9) 51(A.H.) to 10th Rabi II (year) (9) 51(A.H.) equivalent to Saka 1466 Karodi year in the month of Asoda (A.D. 1544).

It records the construction of the bastion by one Khudawand Khan-e-'Azam. There have been, no doubt, courtiers and generals of this name in the Nizam Shahi kingdom, but not particularly in the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah to whose reign this inscription belongs although his name does not occur there. However, according to Firishta in the very year when this bastion of the fort of Sholapur was under construction, one Rumi Khan, who was once in the service of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, was fighting under the command of Burhan Nizam Shah against the forces of Adil Shah and he had effected the conquest of Sholapur. Unfortunately Hajji-ud-Dabir in his history of Gujarat is not very clear about Rumi Khan's origin and his name but from his confused refrences to this man, perhaps is conjecturable that this Rumi Khan's title might have been Khudawand Khan at some later date which is found in this Marathi inscription.

III. The third Marathi record dates from Saka 1575/A.D. 1653 and the stone on which it is inscribed is extant in the side of a well in the Sholapur fort. The size of this stone is 13 × 21 inches.

Transliteration

Line (1) Saka 1575 Vijaya nama samvatsare asvija mase bahole (?) pamcami somava (2) ra magasira nakstra varisataya? suharasana sate sakhaprasai tavakha (3) la pha cha 17 mahe jilakadaraja alphata dine

raja saha (4) sulta tana ma (mo) hamada adalasaha padsahanahtyavari purna kr (5) pa ase susana kota Samdalapur aparu gh (ba) nasi (?) na bala kil madhe ju (?) (6) niyada sodhuna keli racna: Maha (m) dakhana pir Mahamada Jaghitakhana ha (7) vala dana sujyana (?) najika saha buruja va darukhana tehe navi Ma (8) hamada bori (bai) bamdhili (?) ci caukona doni tarapha siddhi kotsi hya (9) ta karuna ghetale bahasana tyasi sada presanna ahe sawami rahimana na (10) vi bai mahanauni bihile sasana tyaca pani (?) ghatejumalekhana (? ja) na ya isa (11) mace ha bale (la) hota Dalpatarao Ga (go) vi (m) darao Saranaika bad, daulata go (?) (12)...........namadi ni.

Free translation

In the Saka 1575 (A.H. 1064/A.D. 1653) on Monday in the month of Asivana equilvaent to 7th of the month of Zi'l-Qa'da, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah, this well built in the fort of Sundalapur, close to the Shah Burj and gun-powder magazine while it was in the charge of Muhammad Khan Pir Muhammad. This new well, being built by the grace of the Merciful, was called Muhammad Bori (after the name of the Sultan of Bijapur). The well is quadrangular in design having a court yard on its either sides. Its water is supplied to all apartments and its management in under Dalpatrao Govindrao.

IV. The fourth and last Marathi inscription dates from the reign of Aurangzeb. It measures 10 x 19 inches and is written in Modi characters. It is still found on the eastern wall of the fort.

Free translation

It records that in Vikram Samvat 1737 and the 24th regenal year of Shah Alamgir (i.e., A.H. 1091/A.D. 1680) when an officer named Manohar Das Gaud, the killedar of the fort of Sholapur completed the bastion of the inner fort as it was only roughly worked out before.

Group Painting of Six Muslim Saints

BY

MR. BHASKAR WAMAN BHAT,

HON. SECRETARY, RAJWADE SANSHODHAN MANDAL, DHULIA.

IN spite of the strict Koranic injunctions against the making of idols, images, drawing of pictures and paintings, the art of painting flourished in Northern India under the regime of the Mughal Emperors who extended their liberal patronage to fine arts. The artists who used to paint pictures were Hindus as well as Mohammadans. Emperor Akbar was a great patron of Mohammedan and Hindu painters. The Ain-i-Akbari contains the names of painters who flourished during Akbar's regime and who were patronized by him.

2. Mohammedan and Hindu artists painted the portraits of Mughal Emperors and Empresses, the conventional paintings of the different Ragas and Raginis, Darbar assemblages, hunting and landscape scenes. The pictures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and of scenes depicting the incidents In their lives were also painted by both Mohammedan and Hindu artists. Paitings in the Mughal regime preserved in the various museums in India testify to this fact. There are four different types of paintings such as the Mughal, Rajput, Kangra Valley and South India Schools, and these are met with in these museums.

3. In the valuable collection of old paintings of the Mughal, Rajput, Kangora Valley and South India Schools of painting preserved in the Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandir, Dhulia, there is a group painting of six distinguished Mohammadan saints viz. Hazat Peer Dastgir, Hazrat Qalandar, Hazrat Sultan Nizamuddin, Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, Khwaja Qutbuddin and Hazrat Farid Shakarganj.

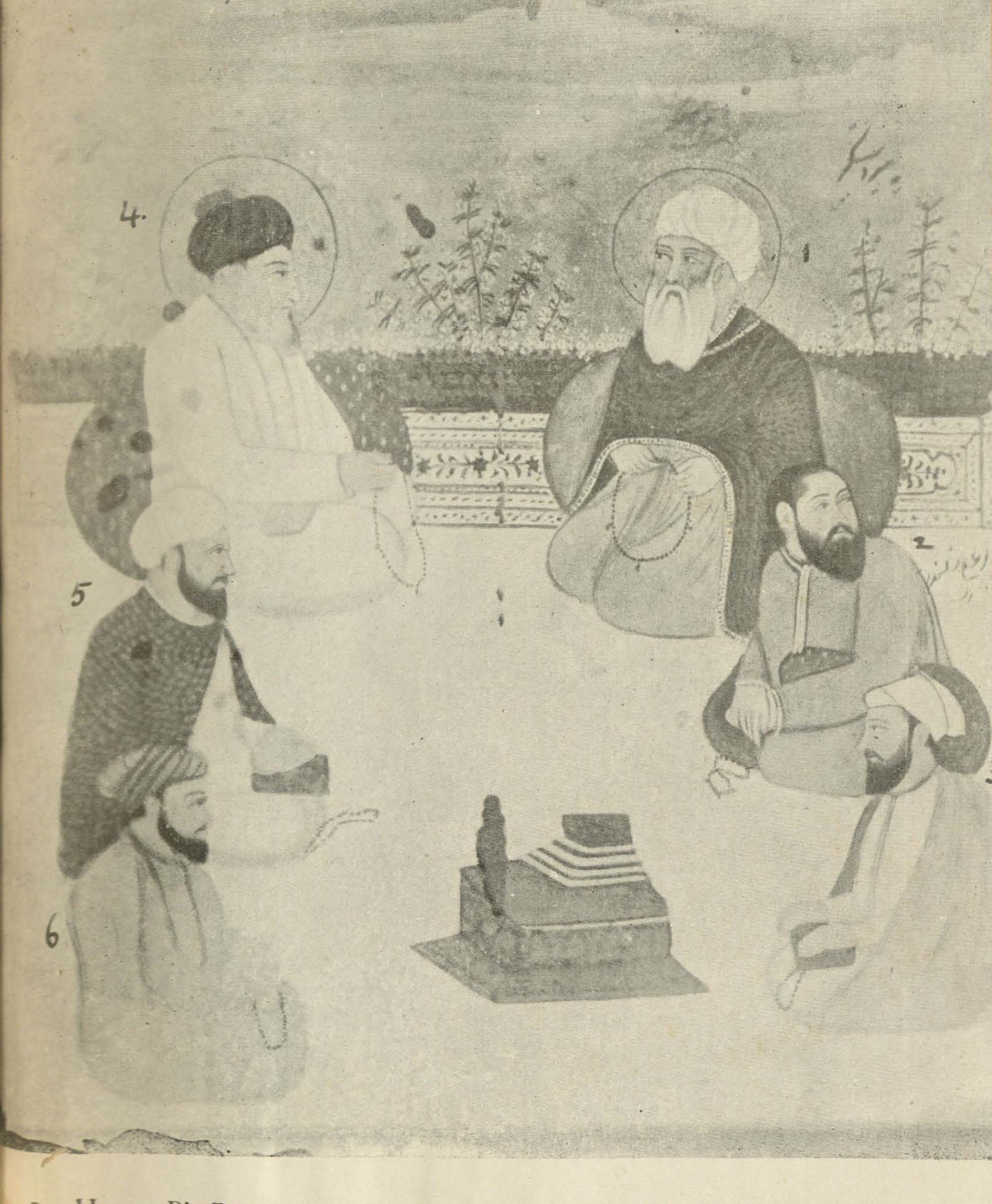
4. This painting of six Mohammadan saints preserved in the Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandir measures 8″ × 10″. The paintings is painted on a specially prepared thick paper which was generally used for drawing such paintings. The different colours used by the painter look fresh. The name of the painter is not given nor the year in which the painting was drawn. The appearance of the painting, however, leads one to believe that it must be old. This painting was in the possession of a Shastri family of Vai in the Satara district in the Bombay Presidency. Before the same was

acquired by me for being exhibited in the Rajwade Mandir it was in the possession of the Shastri family for about 75 years. How the painting came into the possession of that family is not known.

5. The painter seems to have conceived the idea of painting in one group the portraits of these six distinguished saints. The painter in painting the portraits has painted in black the names of these saints in Persian alphabet and this enabled me to identify the painting as being of the six Mohammadan saints. If this painting is examined from the cannons of art applied to such paintings it will certainly rank high. The portraits of the saints are artistically drawn. The different colours have been used for depicting the draperies of these saints. I am producing a photograph of this painting. As the photograph cannot give an idea of the colours used I am noting below the colours of the turbans and coats of these saints. The colours of the turbans of Hazrat Peer Dastagir, Hazrat Qalandar, Hazrat Sultan Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti and Hazrat Farid Shakarganj are respectively green, white, blackish red and white. Hazrat Qalandar and Hazrat Khwaja Moiuddin have green spotted shemlas on their persons. Hazrat Sultan's coat is of faint yellow colour. The colour of the coats of the remaining saints except the coat of Hazrat Khwaja Qutbuddin are white. Khwaja Qutbuddin's coat is of chocolate colour. The features of Hazrat Pir Dastagir are Mangolian and of others Indian. The face of Khwaja Moinuddin can be classed as handsome. Golden orbits are painted round the faces of Pir Dastagir and Khwaja Moinuddin. These orbits are painted in good many old paintings both Western and Eastern to show divine effulgence emanating from the faces of divine and holy personages. This is a convention invented to represent animaginary idea which does not really exist.

6. Immediately after the discovery of this painting about some six or seven years ago I wrote to Mr. Yazadani former director of Archæology, Hyderabad State, requesting him to give his opinion about it. I wanted to ascertain from him whether the figures of the saints painted in this painting can be regarded as the likenesses of these saints. His reply was in the negative. It would be a welcome thing if any paintings of this type in the possession of ancient Muslim families are brought to light which will enable researchers to determine whether they are the result of the fancy of the painter or there once existed a convention to paint these saints.

GROUP PAINTING OF SIX MUSLIM SAINTS.



1. Hazrat Pir Dastagir.
2. Hazrat Bu Ali Qalandar.
3. Hazrat Sultan Nizamuddin.
4. Hazrat Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti.
5. Hazrat Khwaja Qutubuddin.
6. Hazrat Farid Shakarganj.

Chauthai, Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj Farmans given by Mughal Emperors to Raja Shahoo Chhatrapati

BY

MR. BHASKAR WAMAN BHAT,

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IN spite of the strenuous efforts of such well-known researchers of Deccan History such as the Late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Parasnis and Khare, the original Chauthai, Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj Sanads given by the Mughal Emperors to Raja Shahoo Chhatrapati did not see the light of the day. The movement for the search of original documents relating to Deccan History initiated by these distinguished researchers is still going on but none has so far succeeded in bringing to light these documents. The original Farmans, when they were given to Raja Shahoo Chhatrapati by the Mughal Emperors, must have been kept in the Imperial Record at Delhi and their counterparts must have been respectively given to Raja Shahoo Chhatrapati, Mughal Emperor's Viceroy of the six Subhas of the Deccan and the Deshmukh and Deshpande Watandars residing in the said territories. What became of the Mughal Emperors' State Records at Delhi is not known. Counterparts of the original Farmans given to Raja Shahoo Chhatrapati have not been found either with the descendants of Shahoo Chhatrapati viz., the family of Satara Rajas or in the Peshwa Daftar at Poona. The State Records of the Viceroy of the Deccan viz., Nizam-Ul-mulk is intact and is in the possession of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. So far this record has not been searched for finding out these Farmans. Now, as a Committee has been appointed by His Exalted Highness to examine this record, it is very likely that counterparts of these Farmans may hereafter be traced and found in this record. No researcher of original documents of Deccan History has so far made any attempt to examine the private records of the Deshmukh and Deshpande families of the Deccan residing in the territories of His Exalted Highness.

2. From what I have stated so far it is clear that the original Farmans or their counterparts referred to above have not been found. Now at thisst age it would be well to briefly state the nature of the published material connected with there Farmans:—

(a) Marathi translations of fragments of original Persian Farmans found in the Peshwa Daftar and printed in the volume 'Treaties, Agreements and Sanads' published by Wad and Parasnis with the permission of the Bombay Government;

(b) Fragments of English translations of these documents in the British Museum published by Dr. Pawar in his essay entitled "Some documents bearing on Imperial Mughal Grants to Raja Shahu" published in volume 17 of the Indian Historical Record Commission Proceedings at pages 204 to 215;

(c) Marathi translation of a Farman published by the Late Mr. Rajwade in volume VIII of his 'Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane';

(d) Shivaji's Bakhar in the possession of Chitnis family at Borgaon in the Satara District (descendants of Balaji Awaji Chitnis, Shivaji's Secretary).

3. A superficial examination of the fragmentary Marathi translations of Persian documents published in the volume 'Treaties, Agreements and Sanads' discloses the fact, that these documents are not grants made by the Delhi Mughal Emperors but by the NizamUl-mulk, Ferozjung Bakhshi and Dyanatkhan of Muhammad Farrukhseer. These documents refer to the Farmans given to Shahoo Raja by Rafiuddar Jat granting him a right to levy Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi. From the statement occuring in the first document which is a Sanad granted by Nizam-Ul-mulk to levy Chauth in the Aurangabad Subha, it appears that he had already given 5 separate Sanads to Shahoo Raja for levying Chauthai in the 5 Subhas of the Deccan viz., Bijapur, Hyderabad, Warhad, Bedar and Khandesh.

4. The other two documents are, one for levy of Sardeshmukhi in the six Subhas of the Deccan and the other for Kadim Raj given by Ferozjung Bakhshi and Dyanatkhan. These documents contain the reasons which led the Emperors to give Sanads to Raja Shahoo.

5. I next refer to the documents published by Mr. Rajwade in 'Marathyanchi Itihasachi Sadhane' volume VIII. It seems to be a Farman for Kadim Raj. The name of the grantor is not stated. The most important features of these documents viz., the figure of the total amount of the Peshkash Rs. 10,00,000 is stated but no details are given. The names of the parganas and villages in the Kadim Raj of Raja Shahoo are stated. It would not, therefore, be safe to regard this document as a true translation of the original Farman.

6. I now refer to the documents in Dr. Pawar's paper and the points contained in it. The first document i.e., the letter given to Sayad by Balaji Vishwanath (19th September 1717) and the second dated 16th September 1717, contain the demands for levying Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi, in the six Subhas of the Deccan and the demand for Kadim Raj. These documents show the origin of these Farmans. All the other documents referred to by Dr. Pawar in his paper are Sanads for Chauthai, Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj granted to Raja Shahoo by Nizam-Ul-mulk the Viceroy of the Deccan. Thus it is clear that in Dr. Pawar's paper, there is no reference to any Farman given to Raja Shahoo by the Mughal Emperor, although, all these documents contain a statement that a Farman has been given to Raja Shahoo by the Emperor Rafiuddar Jat. I now refer to some valuable and important documents, which so far have passed unnoticed by researchers and writers of Maharatta History. In a magazine called 'Prabhat' started in 1908 A.D. by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar of Dhulia, district West Khandesh, very important and reliable documents possessing all the characteristics of genuineness were published in a Bakhar under the title 'Shiv Chhatrapatichi Bakhar' i.e, Bakhar or account of Shiv Chhatrapati. This Bakhar consists of 53 printed pages of demi-octavo size. It contains Marathi substance of original Persian Farmans given by Mughal Emperors to Shiv Chhatrapati and Raja Shahoo. This Bakhar formed part of the historical papers in the possession of the Chitnis family at Borgaon in the Satara district (i.e., descendants of Balaji Awaji Chitnis Secretary of Shivaji). The head of this family Mr. Baba Saheb Chitnis handed over this Bakhar to Mr. Chandorkar for being published in his magazine. This Bakhar after giving a short account of Shivaji's early life from pages 1 to 3 sets out from pages 4 to 46 the substance in Marathi of Persian Farmans that were sent to Shivaji by the Viceroy of the Deccan and Mughal Emperors Shahejahan and Aurangjzeb and of Persian Farmans given to Raja Shahoo. The correspondence was started by a Farman issued by Murad Bakhsh to Shivaji. This was followed by another Farman dated 10th Rabiulawwal 22 Julus Hijri Era 1059 1648-49 A.D. In this Farman Muradbakhsh wrote to Shivaji to send his vakil to explain what he wanted from the Emperor. Want of space forbids me to refer to the other important facts referred to in these documents but I will only refer to such of them as relate to these documents. After exchange of some 8 letters the correspondence terminated after Jaysing's invasion of the Deccan. Aurangzeb was informed by Jaysing that it was not possible to crush Shivaji and it would be better to enter into a treaty of alliance with him on such terms as were proposed by him. Jaysing sent his envoy to Shivaji to open negotiations. Shivaji seeing that it would not be possible for him to successfully fight two enemies at one and the same time viz., the Mughal Emperor

and Adilsha the king of Bijapur proposed the following terms to Jaysing. The terms were these :—

(a) That some of the forts which Shivaji had taken from Adilsha King of Bijapur were to be given to Jaysing.

(b) The Konkan territory and the 12 forts which were in his possession were to be kept by him;

(c) Territory yielding revenue of 5,00,000 taken from the king of Bijapur should be given to him after the fall of Bijapur.

These terms were communicated by Jaysing to Aurangzeb. Aurangjzeb in his turn by a Farman dated 8 Julus Hijri Era 1075 1665 A.D. informed Shivaji as follows :—

"You want a Farman from us and you have proposed the following terms :—

"(1) To hand over 20 forts in your possession to us;

(2) 12 forts and the territories within their jurisdiction the revenue of which is 1,00,000 Hons as well as the forts and the territory forming part of the Nizamshahi kingdom and territory yielding 4,00,000 revenue forming part of the Tal Konkan originally belonging to the Bijapur kingdom and which is not in your possession and additional territory in the Balaghat jurisdiction yielding revenue of 5,00,000 Hons (originally forming part of Bijapur kingdom) should be allowed to remain in our possession you agreeing to give to us 40,00,000 Hons as Peshkash at the rate of 3,00,000 per year.

7. On the recommendation of Raja Jaysing forgetting and forgiving you all the evil acts that you have done I propose the following terms :—

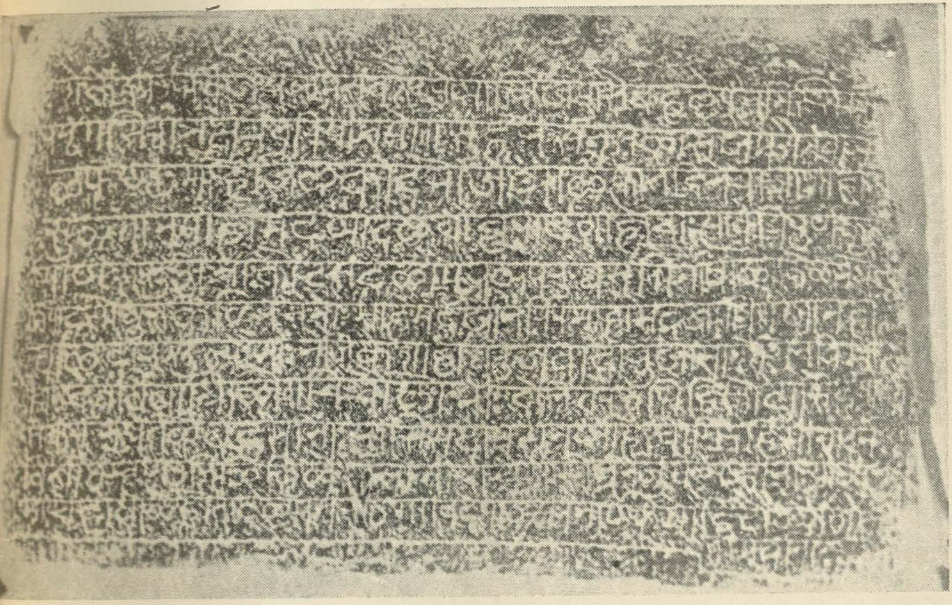
"You should take the 12 forts named below and the territories under those forts. You should assist Raja Jaysing in the prosecution of war which is carried on against the king of Bijapur. After the successful termination of that war if you give the Peshkash which you have proposed to give to us, the territories yielding 5,00,000 Hons out of the territory yielding 9,00,000 Hons forming part of the Tal Konkan which is in your possession and which has now come in our possession and the territory of Balaghat yielding an income of 5,00,000 Hons will be given to you.

8. The names of the 12 forts are given. Shivaji agreed to these terms and informed accordingly to Jaysing who in his turn

informed Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb feeling satisfied at this sent robes of honour and a Katyar embedded with costly jewels to Shivaji and sent a Farman to Shivaji dated 7 Jamadiulawwal Hijri 8 Julus Era 1077 A.D. 1667. Shivaji thereafter began to take forts and territories forming part of the Bijapur kingdom. Jaysing proposed to Shivaji that he should go to see the Emperor who will bestow his fovours on him. Thereafter Aurangzeb wrote another Farman to Shivaji dated 10 Shawwal 9 Julus Hijri Era 1077 A.D. 1667 in which Aurangzeb informed Shivaji that letter sent through Jaysing was received by him and he was greatly satisfied thereat. Aurangzeb asked Shivaji to come to see him immediately without any delay. After meeting him favours will be bestowed upon him and he would be allowed to return to his kingdom. Shivaji accordingly went to see Aurangzeb at Agra where he was kept in confinement. Shivaji managed to escape and return to his capital. Thereafter Aurangzeb sent his son Mohammad Muazzam to Deccan as Viceroy instructing him to remain on friendly terms with Shivaji. A Farman of Aurangzeb was sentto Shivaji bearing Aurangzeb's seals and the seal of Mohammad Muazzam dated 5th Shaban 11 Julus Hijri Era 1078 A.D. 1668 informing Shivaji that the title of Raja was conferred on him and that he should further assist the Emperor and all his wishes conferred on would be fulfilled. Shivaji died in 1680 A.D. Thereafter Aurangzeb invaded Deccan with a large army. This war was waged till A.D. 1707 the year in which Aurangzeb died. Thereafter his second son Azimsha proceeded to north with his general Zulfikharkhan. He took Shahoo and his relations who were in Aurangzeb's captivity with him. While camping at Burhanpur, through the good offices of Aurangzeb's daughter who regarded Shahoo as her son, he, with his followers, was set free and allowed to proceed to Deccan on the following understanding :—

"You should proceed to your kingdom. Take care of the same by putting down fomenters of quarrels. You should remain loyal to the Emperor and should not harass the Emperor's territories. When we are satisfied that your behaviour towards us is satisfactory weshall on reaching Delhi and on our accession to the throne set free your wife and other females who are in our captivity and shall grant you your Sardeshmukhi watan in the six Subhas of the Deccan, right to levy Chauthai in the said Subhas of which you are in enjoyment, Mahals in Balaghat forming part of Bijapur kingdom. Half of Daulatabad Mahals forming part of the Patashaha territory bounded by Bhima and Ganga and Farmans relating to these shall be given to you. All Thanas, forts and fortifications included in this territory are given to you. For the present, a letter addressed to the Subha is given to you stating that your kingdom should be given to you and you should be allowed to guard the same. Whatever territory in Karnatak, Gondvan, Gujrat, Tanjore belongs to

you should be taken by you in your possession. Whenever the Emperor is in danger you should render help to him with your army and whatever orders are issued to you should be obeyed by you" (Shahoo Chhatrapati's Bakhar). Shahoo then proceeded to the Deccan and succeeded in securing his kingdom. All correspondence after Aurangzeb's death relating to these documents was carried on on Shahoo's behalf with his successors. It is not necessary to refer to these documents at length as their contents are similar to the contents of the documents discussed above. Attention however must be drawn to 2 or 3 important documents in this Bakhar. Farrukhseer on his accession to the throne in A.D. 1713 conceived the idea of strengthening his power by securing Shahoo's help and opened negotiations with him. He informed Shahoo by a letter that a Mansab would be given to him for maintaining an army of 10,000 horses. Before the granting of any Farman to Shahoo Rafiuddar Jat opened negotiations with Shahoo with a view to secure his help. Shahoo informed Rafiuddar Jat that a Sanad for levying Chauthai in the six Subhas of the Deccan should be given to him for the present. Rafiuddar Jat agreed (See document No. 16 at page 26). This document is dated 22 Rabilakhar 1st Julus Hizri Era 1125 i.e., A.D. 1713. At that very time Rafiuddar Jat gave to Shahu a Farman of his Kadim Raj and a Farman for the Sardeshmukhi watan. The names of the parganas and the Mahals in the Kadim Raj are stated at the end of this Farman. In the Sardeshmukhi Farman the figure of the total revenue of the six subhas has been separately stated along with a total amount of the revenue of the six Subhas. Out of the published material both these documents are entitled to great weight. All these Farmans bear the seal of Seyd Abdullakhan Miran Umra. The Sardeshmukhi Farman contains to Muchalka (personal undertaking) of Yadorao Shahoo's Vakil. Thereafter Muhammadsha (in the Bakhar he is called second Shahe-gehan)ascended the Mughal throne on 20th Rajjab Hizri Era 1131 i.e, A.D. 1719 (according to the Mughal Badshahiki Julusi Shan by Rai Bahadur Oza 15 Zilkad Hijri Era 1131 is the date given of his accession). Raja Shahoo during the first 5 years of Mohammad Shah's reign i.e., 1719 A.D. to 1725 A.D. secured from him Farmans of Chauthai Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj. The published materials except Shivaji's Bakhar forming part of the record of the Chitnis family of Borgaon do not contain any definite and reliable information about these Farmans. The substance of the Persian Farmans set out in the documents printed in Shivaji's Bakhar are far more reliable than any of the published material either Marathi or English. In view of the prevailing state of things just described the discovery of any of these original Farmans or any of their counterparts will be welcomed by Historical Researchers. After Rajwade's demise in December 1926 I had an occasion to examine his collection and to my great surprise



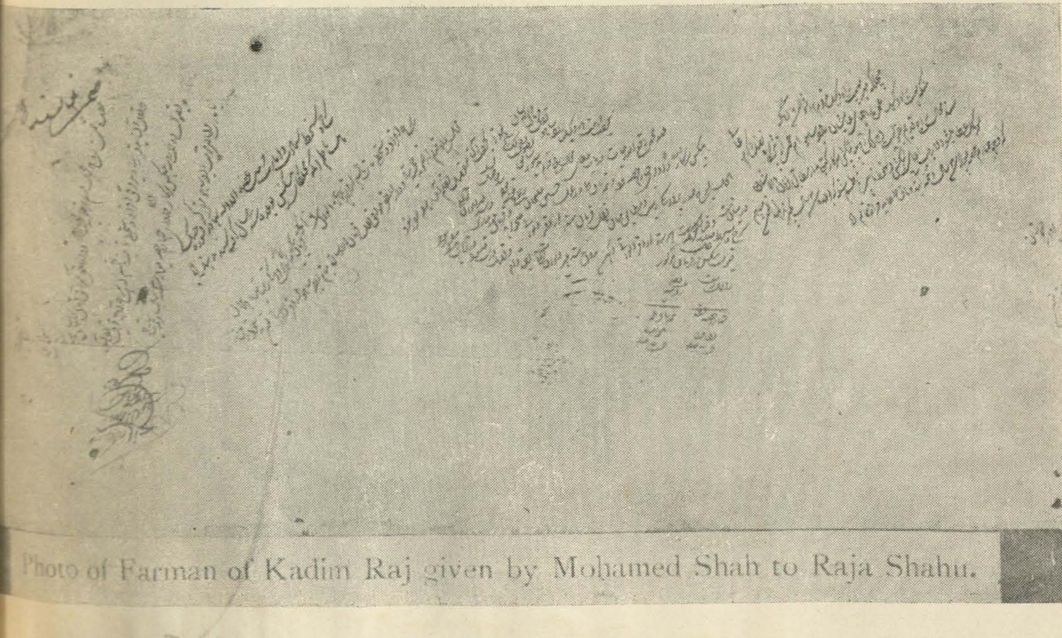


Photo of Farman of Kadim Raj given by Mohamed Shah to Raja Shahu.

I came across a counterpart of the original Sanad for Swaraj given to Raja Shahoo by Muhammad Shah Badshah. The discovery of this Persian Farman given by the Mughal Emperor to Raja Shahoo will remove the prevailing hazy ideas about the origin and terms of these Farmans etc. In view of the limited space at my disposal it is not possible to set out fully the original Persian document with its English translation. I must, therefore, for the present remain content by noting some important points connected with this document and some important facts which are set out in it and to produce photos to enable Researchers to judge of the nature and genuineness of this document. This Swaraj Sanad is written on thick paper which is popularly known as Erandole paper (manufactured at Erandole a Taluka in the East Khandesh district where even at present paper is manufactured by some Mohammadan families who reside in a part of the town called the Kaghazipura). The total length of the document is 62 feet 3". It consists of pieces of paper of the breadth of 8¾" and of a length varying between 2 ft. 2" to 2 ft. 5". Many of paper pieces of this length are pasted together to make the whole length of the document as stated above. There is a seal at every place where two pieces are pasted together. The script of the document is Persian and it is written on both sides. On the top of the document the words "कदीम राज्या विसि असवजहा नवाब याचो दुमोहरी सनद." These words are written in Modi script probably by the person in possession of the said document. On the reverse side of the front part of the first portion of the document there are two seals. The script of both the seals is Persian. On one seal the words 'Mohamad Shah Badshahaghazi' are written. The year 1134 is mentioned. There is also the figure of 3 which seems to be Julus year. The second seal reads "Mohore Niyabat Nizam-Ul-muk Bahadur Jung Sipe Salar Muride Badashah Mohamad Ghazi". With a view to enable scholars and researchers intrested in historical research I am producing three photos (1) photo of the front part of the document (2) photo of the closing portion of the document and (3) photo of the two seals on the reverse top portion of the document. This in brief is the nature of the Sanad. Now I proceed to briefly state some of the important facts which are contained in this document.

(1) The names of the several parganas in the Kadim Raj within the territories of the six Subhas of the Deccan are given along with the names of Inamdars, Jagirdars, Saranjamdars in possession of them as also the income of these inams, jahagirs etc.

(2) The terms upon which the grant is made to Raja Shahoo are set out in this document.

(3) The figure of the total income of Shivaji Raja's Swaraj Territory is given.

(4) The specific mention of the agreement by Shivaji to pay Peshkash to the Mughal Emperor made in this document is noteworthy and important and is fully borne out by the documents mentioned in Shiv Chhatrapati Bakhar.

(5) The amount of the balance of Peshkash due by Shivaji to the Mughal Emperors according to the agreement previously entered into by Shivaji with Aurangzeb is mentioned. These are some of the important facts which can be gleemed from this document.

9. The mention of the figure of the balance of peshkash as stated above is fully supported by the document published in Shivajichi Bakhar. In none of the English or Marathi lives of Shivaji, information about the negotiations which took place between Aurangzeb and Shivaji, and the definite agreement arrived at between them, is given. When Jaysing was sent against Shivaji and friendly negotiations were started Shivaji seems to have made a demand for Swaraj territories (Kadim Raj) as well as a demand for right to levy Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi in the six Subhas of the Deccan. "English records on Shivaji" affords most reliable evidence to show that Shivaji was actually levying Chauth in the territories of the Adilshah king of Bijapur as well as the territories of the Mughal Emperors. Whenever he used to invade these territories he used to call upon the people residing therein to give him ¼th of the amount of revenue paid by them to the Adilshah king or the Mughal Emperor. He used to take from them written documents agreeing to pay this amount. If the people agreed to this demand they were left unmolested. If they did not agree and resisted his demand he used to loot them. He never made any distinction between people of high rank and ordinary people. There is a notable instance which shows this: The English had a factory at Hubli. Shivaji's Governor in these territories demanded ¼th amount of the revenue paid by the English factory to the king of Bijapur. The head of the English factory refused to pay. Thereupon Shivaji's Governor broke open the lock of the ware-house and attached ¼th of the cloth in the factory and auctioned the same and thus got the amount of Chauthai. The English factory complained to Shivaji about his Governor's conduct. He was informed that as a right to levy Chauthai was conceded to him by the Adilshaha king according to the terms of the treaty concluded between himself and the Bijapur king he had every right to levy Chauth from the English factory which was situated within the Bijapur territory. Shivaji before looting Surat had informed the Mughal Governor of that city to pay ¼th of the revenue of the territory in his possession and if he declined to pay the same the city would be looted. Shivaji based his claim to levy Chauthai on

the ground that the Mughal Emperor and the Adilshah king waged war against him and for fighting them he had to maintain a large army and bear vast expenditure for its maintenance. For this reason he had a right to levy Chauth from the subjects inhabiting their territories. If they ceased to wage war against him he would have no reason to demand Chauth from them.

10. Want of space forbids me to discuss at length the point raised by Dr. Pawar in the concluding part of his paper viz. "It would have been in the fitness of things to discuss the nature of these grants. It is some times said that the contribution which the Maharattas levied amounted to nothing less than blackmail." But at the same time I may point out the reason which is furnished by these documents for the grant of these Sanads to Raja Shahoo. An examination of these documents discloses the important fact that the territories in the six Subhas of the Deccan had been so much desolated and in a ruined condition that the revenue recoverd from these territories was Re. 1 out of Rs. 100. Obviously the Mughal Emperors were not at all profited by the possession of these territories and it was their interest to see that peace, order and prosperity were established in these territories and they are brought to such a state as would result in yielding greater income to them. It was for this reason that these Sanads were granted to Chhatrapati Shahoo. For restoring peace and order and rendering territory prosperous Shahoo was to maintain an army of 15000 men. It is quite clear from these statements that there was every reason for the Mughal Emperors to make these grants to Raja Shahoo who had become an ally of the Mughal Emperors when he was set free at Burhanpur by Azimshah Aurangzeb's 2nd son after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D. It is not difficult to understand why territories in the six Subhas of the Deccan had become desolate and unyielding. Aurangzeb came to the Deccan in the year 1680 after Shivaji's death with a very large army. His object was twofold: To crush the newly established Swaraj of Shivaji as also the Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. For a full period of 27 years his vast army was traducing the whole of these territories from one end to the other. The Maharattas who were bent upon preserving their independence and newly acquired Swaraj offered the greatest resistance to Aurangzeb and in order to defeat him they had to carry on depredations on a vast scale throughout these territories. Similarly the Adilshahi Muslim kingdom and the Golconda kingdom to destroy them. The result of this was that there was no peace and security of life and property throughout the length and breadth of the whole of Deccan. Owing to the very prolonged period during which this state of things prevailed in these territories there was desolation and depopulation. The absence of a stable and orderly Government resulted in low yield from the cultivation of lands in these territories,

The power of the Mughal Emperor after Aurangzeb's death owing to internecine and fratricidal wars began to grow weaker and weaker. The power of Maharattas owing to the discomfeiture and death of Aurangzeb began to wax. The Mughal Emperors who sat on the throne of Delhi after Aurangzeb's death viz. (1) Bahadur Shah (Shahealam) A. D. 1707–1712 (2) Muhammad Jahandar Shah A.D. 1712 to 1713 (3) Muhammad Furukhseer A.D. 1713 to 1719 (4) Rafiuddar Jat A.D. 1719 (5) Rafiuddowla A.D. 1719 (6) Mohammad Shah 18 February 1719 to A.D. 1748, all sought the alliance of the powerful Marathas in their own interest. If these facts really existed these Mughal Emperors had every reason to make these grants to Raja Shahoo for safeguarding their own interests and for bringing greater revenue to the state. No impartial observer of politics can term these grants as empowering the Maharattas to levy blackmale in the territories of the six Subhas of the Deccan. Propagandist historians have a knack of twisting historical facts to suit their own purpose. The English had become victorious by conquering the Maharattas. They established their political domination throughout the whole of the Deccan and it was to their interest to represent to the people whom they had subjugated that their Government was far more benign than their own Government which was actuated by mean and rapacious motives. All praise is certainly due to Grant Duff for having written the first history of the Maharattas in English and the Maharattas must for ever cherish a sense of gratitude to Grant Duff for having done a work of National importance which they never cared to perform. But at the same time it must be said that he failed to understand and appreciate the spirit of the Maharatta movement for establishing Swaraj. He was a foreigner in the land, was ignorant of the ideals propounded and spread by the Maratha Saints from 12th century A.D. to 16th century such as Dnyaneshwar, Namdev, Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas. In his history he has lamentably failed to give a true and correct picture of the spirit which actuated Shivaji in establishing Swaraj. The views which are propounded by him in his history are intended to glorify the political power of the British and villify the Maharattas and their motives in spreading and expanding their political power throughout the whole of India.

Maratha Levy on Hyderabad in the year A. D. 1709-10

BY

DR. A. G. PAWAR, M. A., LL. B., (BOM.),

PH. D., (LONDON), BAR-AT-LAW, KOLHAPUR.

DOCUMENT No. 335 in Vol. 30 of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* illustrates the policy of the Maratha State in the most critical days of its life. The document is dated 1703–4 A.D. and is an official record of a grant by Shivaji II to Balaji Vishwanath, the future Peshwa, who is styted here as "Sir-subedar of the province of Doulatabad". Balaji is given the right of collection of *dahija* (one-tenth) and *chouthai* from Doulatabad, Nasik, Chandwad, Khandesh, Baglan and Karde Ranjangao. One half of the collected amount was to be used by him in the administration of the province, and the other half was to be remitted to the government treasury.

In 1703–4 A.D. the Marathas were engaged in a life and death struggle with the all-powerful Emperor Aurangzeb. They were not masters of their own homes and yet, they were levying contributions on distant lands. They had found out that the only method of self-preservation was aggression.

Khafi Khan, who must have seen a few things with his own eyes, gives a lucid description of the system adopted by the Marathas. In his account of the year 1114 A.H. (1702–3 A.D.) he writes :—

> "By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shah Jahan and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he (that is Aurangzeb) had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Marathas increased and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne...............In imitation of the Emperor...............the commanders of Tara Bai cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *Kamaish-dars* (revenue collectors) they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, tents and elephants.

> Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves and following the practice of the Imperial rule they appointed their *subedars* (provincial governors), *kamaish-dars*[1] (revenue collectors), and *rahdars* (toll-collectors)."

In this way, the practice of exacting contributions from the Imperial lands was followed even when the great Emperor Aurangzeb was personally conducting a war to destroy the Maratha power. As years rolled on the practice hardened into an unwritten law. Thus, we have a striking example of a levy on Hyderabad in the year 1709–10 A.D. Entry No. 4 of Vol. 7 of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* gives details of the dues to be had in that year from the province of Bhaganagar, that is, Hyderabad. It is an official account paper giving the details of Rs. 8,00,000 to be collectedas dues from that province. The exact nature of these dues is not mentioned in this paper. In any case, in 1709–10 A.D., there could not be any recognised reght for the enforcement of the contribution, because Shahoo obtained his *sanads* of *chouth* and *sardeshmukhi* years later in March 1719.

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1. Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VII. P. 374.

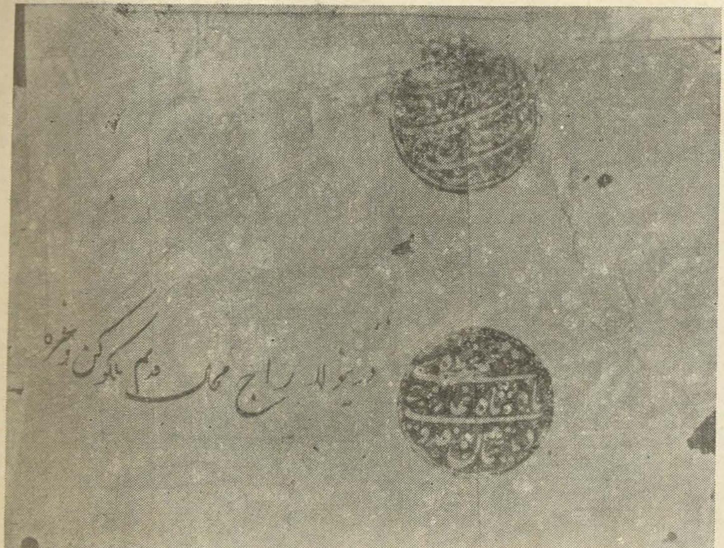
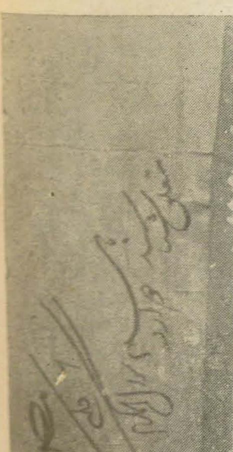
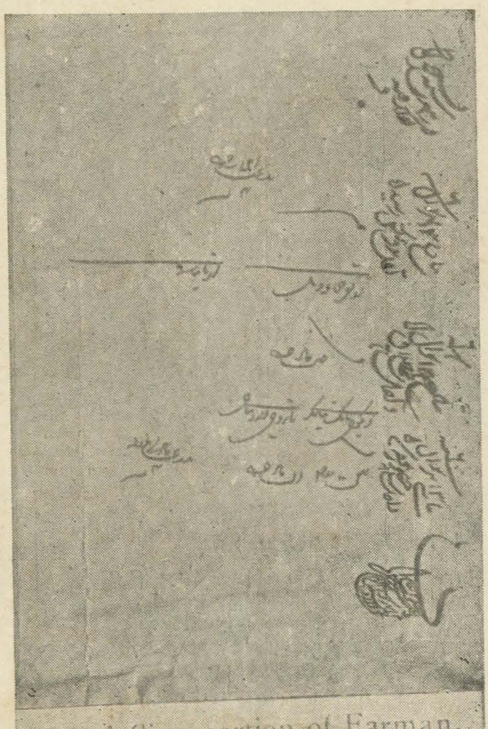


Photo of seals of Diyanatkhan, an officer of Mohamed Shah and Nizam-ul-Mulk on Mohamed Shah's Farman.



Last endorsement on the Sanad



Concluding portion of Farman.

Mausoleum of Rabi'a Durrani at Aurangabad

BY

PROF: ABDUL WAHAB BUKHARI, (MADRAS)

IT was in the beginning of the last academic year that an educational tour of the students of Islamic History and Culture of the Government Muhamadan College, Madras, to visit some important places of historical interest in the Deccan, was organised. The tour extended over two weeks and Golcunda, Aurangabad and Bijapur were visited. The astounding edifices, forts, Mausoleums, Mosques, Caves and palaces that were visited, the magnificence of their architecture, the infinite diversity of their detail and the variety of their carvings, both Muslim as well as Hindu, are really the most striking attestation of their grand artistic conception and superb execution. As one looks minutely into the matcnhless pieces of jewellery in stone at Ibrahim Roza, whispers in the gallery of the grandest dome in the world, the gol gumbad, stands almost astounded at the weird statues of the Buddha, the carvings at Ellora and freseoes of, Ajanta and stands amazed at the Heaven-high arch of the beautiful Taj of the Deccan, the famous Mausoleum of Begum Rabia Durrani, one can not escape the feeling of pride at the vast and varied heritage of the Deccan in realms of art and architecture.

In the following few pages it shall be my endeavour to portray inspite of my varied limitations, one of the several most beautiful pieces of architecture in the Deccan, the Mausoleum of Rabia Durrani, Dilrus Banu Begum, the celebrated wife of Emperor Aurangzeb. It is popularly called "Bibi ka Maqbarah" or 'the lady"s Mausoleum', and it is to the south what Taj Mahall is to the North. It is suggested by some writers that "although the Maqbarah must be considered a beautiful building, it is inferior to its celebrated rival" and this is attributed to the decline in architecture that had already set in. In the first instance it is wrong to regard it as a 'rival' for one thing it was not built by the Emperor Aurangzeb, as has been established beyond doubt, but by his son Auzam Shah in fond memory of his mother. And granting that the design at the Maqbarah was carried into execution under the express sanction, if not the direct inspiration of Aurangzeb, that orthodox and puritanic Mughal Emperor was not likely to be drawn into any spirit of rivalry on an issue such as this. But the magnificent arch and the crowning marble dome with its four minarets on the corner angles, the tomb with its perforated marble screen, are, one and all of them, reminiscent of

that great wonder of the world at Agra. The vastness of conception so characteristic of Mughal architecture, the beautiful setting of the Maqbarah amidst crystal water and luxuriant foliage; are all there, and you hardly miss anything at the Maqbarah what you have seen at the Taj except for the precious stones that are said to have been inlaid there and are now conspicuous by their absence due to the vicissitudes of time; even in that building. Thus the Mausoleum of Rabia Durrani at Aurangabad is a replicate of the beautiful Taj at Agra. It is not its rival, it was never intended to be as such.

Now coming to the Maqbarah itself, this fine edifice stands in the suburb of Begum pura, wherein stood the simple and august palaces of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Some of these fortifications are still extant at Aurangabad and their ruins are a silent yet eloquent testimovy of that great Age. The Maqbarah was probably constructed between the years 1650 and 1657 with Taj Mahall at Agra as its model. The Historian Ghulam Musthafa in his Tarikh Nama of Aurangzeb's reign gives the name of its architet as Ata-ullah son of Ahmed who is generally believed to be the architet of the Taj mahal Ataullah's name is engraved in metal on the Southern and the main entrance of the building. True to the Mughal conception of vast spaces for structures such as these, the Mausoleum stands within an area of one lakh and fifty thousand square yards (being 500 yards long and 300 yards broad). The surrounding wall has arched recesses outside. There are bastions at intervals and the recesses are crowned with little minarets. You enter the gate by the south through a handsome portal closed by folding doors covered with running foliage pattern in brass. This entrance leads on to a large arch in front, opposite to entrance, rising almost to the total height of this hexagonal portico standing underneath this arch you are ushured in to the full view of this most beautiful Mausoleum. The pavements are, according to Mughal fashion, or-namented with oblong reservoirs, executed with faultless symmetry, in which, thanks to the wonderful system of water supply bequeathed to Aurangabad by the celebrated Malick Amber, fountains still play singing the melody of a bygone age. They seem to go on much in the fashion of their source, the river, for ever, moving and challenging the devastation of time! On either side of the fountains are planted the enchanting Mughal gardens of fruit trees, the slender cypresses and the ever greens lending to the whole environment a charm and a picturesqueness which is at once the wonder and the admiration of the visitor.

The Mausoleum itself rests on a raised platform of "polished red porphyritic trap" 72 feet square. The four minarets at the corner angles are also 72 ft. high. Each of these corner minarets has a gallery about mid way and yet another near the top forming

the base of a hexagonal pavilion which is, in its turn, crowned with an exquisite dome and a spire. A railing runs round the edge of the platform and a flight of steps leads to the gardens below.

The body of the tomb is again a square and has a lofty pointed arch, rising almost to the whole height of the building. This is the most magnificent aspect of the whole building, and together with the pearly white marble dome that emerges above it. leaves an unfaiding impress on the heart of the lookers-on, Four little domes with corresponding minarets are also at the corners and lend an additional charm to the Mausoleum.

The actual tomb is reached by a flight of steps that descends from the platform into the body of the building. The tomb is surrounded by a screen work of perforated marble. Another entrance to the tomb is at the South East corner and this contains some of the most exquisite florid patterns on the arch and over the pillars on either side. This entrance leads into a gallery that runs round the whole interior and looks down upon the tomb. The windows are of marble trellis work and in their delicate workmanship are any day a match to anything similar found at Agra. The soft and solemn light that is let in through the apertures of this marble tracery is thoroughly in keeping with the quietude and solemnity of the surroundings. The whole atmosphere inspires an irresistible urge to the Divine. The floor inside is paved with white marble. The jambs of the door ways as also the cupola are áll of white marble. The lower parts of the building are of the same material, whilst in the upper portions, stone and brick appear to have been used also. But these portions of the building have been treated with a combination of cement and mica with excellent effects. This has given an exquisite and permanent fineness to the surface. And as has been stated, the ground work of marble is not inlaid with precious stones and their place is taken by floral wreathes, scrolls, fret work and other most elegant designs.

A mosque stands on the platform to the western side of the Mausoleum and has five cusped arches with minarets at each corner angle in front. The interior contains a row of pillars which are connected with the front arches ann with one another with a series of cusped arch. decorations in front are simple, chaste and neat in keeping with the sublime simplicity of the strueture. The mosque, through undoubtedly a later addition to the Maqbarah, is yet a fine addition to it and I am not certainly of the view that it should be pulled down if possible, as has been suggested by a learned Doctor, on the plea that it mars the symmetry of the main building and "many other points of beauty". A mosque is

usually a counter part of a Mausoleum as according to orthodox Muslim opinion, prayers could not to be offered near graves and I believe, that even granting a decadent age for its construction, its builders, it will be easily conceded, had a better sense of beauty art and symmetry than connoisseurs of Art of our own times. It may perhaps be fashionable, in Art circles today, to suggest such a course but, to my mind, the suggestion is not warranted by sufficient data and its execution, if at all possible, will certainly go against the spirit and the intentions of the builders. The little mosque is a beautiful neat building and is a unit in itself and thus the suggestion will be untenable even from the point of view of Art and its preservation.

To the East of the Maqbarah and situated on a separate platform, facing the gardens and the fountains is yet another building which was perhaps used as a depositary and a library. The Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's government seem to have recently retained the building and taken care to preserve some of its original floral designs and their colours. Outside this vast enclosure of the Maqbarah, we were led to an ancient looking and time honoured building, which, housed and still houses the office of the Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu and where, we were told that the fathers of Modern Urdu toiled for decades. No better environs could have suggested themselves for the habitation of such a nation building activity.

Going round this beautiful Mausoleum at Aurangabad, the great Gol Gumbad, the Ibrahim Roza with its unparalleled Arabesque and tracery done in stone at Bijapur, and the enchanting art exhibited at Ellora and Ajanta, I could not help drawing certain conclusions. The first is, as I have stated at the very outset, that the Deccan holds its own, in point of its contribution to culture, art and Architecture. The other is that the older artists who worked in the caves and on them believed in the idea that "A corporeal being rejoices in heaven as long as his fame (remains) among men and therefore it was meet to acquire in the mountains a fame which lasts as long as the Sun and the Moon endure." But their Muslim compeers in a later age, brought out Art from the recesses of mountains and caves into broad day light and subjected it to the daily use of man, their ideal being beauty and utility. Who can deny, I beg to be excused for a repetition, the surpassing excellence of the delicate carvings in stone at the Ibrahim Roza, which are according to some authorities, more exquisite than any found in any part of India, or the beautiful tracery in marble round the tomb of the Maqbarah which forms the subject of this paper, to mention but two of the works of art whose number is legion throughout the Islamic world. But all these are

subjected to the use of man, his edification and his happiness in his day today life. Art was common to both, but in one case it was only an end in itself, whilst in the other ordinarily speaking it was also made to serve an end.

One more observation and I have done. Since so many of these relics of our past greatness in the Deccan both Muslim as well as Hindu, happen to be situated in the Hyderabad Dominions, the need for Hyderabad taking the lead in the matter of Deccan History in obvious. There are several phases of the History of South India that still need research and I am certain that this field will yield quite a plentiful harvest for an individual endowed with competence and industry who chooses to take up the work. The researches and excavations that are being conducted at Kondapur, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions are already bringing fresh data to bear upon the History of the Deccan. The need for a select body of scholars in the subject constituting themselves into a Board, with the set purpose of exploring not only the yet unexplored domains of south Indian History but, what is equally important, to revise certain notions about it that pass for history, is the crying need of the hour. This conference will deserve the undying gratitude of all seekers of truth and knowledge if it can give the lead in this regard.

GOGI AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

BY

SYED YUSUF, B.A., (HYDERABAD-DN.)

GOGI as it now lies is a small town in the Shahpur Taluq of Gulbarga District—1632′ N. and 76 43′ E. Until recently very little importance was attached to this town for reasons of its lying 'far from the beaten track' and above all its present insignificant position from the point of view of its humble revenues. The importance of this town from an archæological and historical point of view was not revealed until very lately when a campaign of exploration, research and conservation was carried out by the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. That Gogi continued to remain a favourite resort of Early Man has been attested to by the recent discoveries of stone implements in the fields surrounding the town. During my inspection of the place in 1350 Fasli while walking through fields I came across a rough chip of stone which at first sight looked somewhat like a primitive stone knife. My further researches were rewarded by the discovery of several rough stone knives and chisels which proved beyond doubt that the site of Gogi once formed the settlement of Pre-historic man.

After the traces of the Stone Age culture mentioned above there appears to have been a very large gap in the cultural development of the site, as between the lithic age and the inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq which will be described presently no traces of any other cultural epoch appear to intervene. The earliest trace of civilization which we come across after the stone knives is a much mutilated Persian inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq dated 738 H. (1338 A.D.). This inscription is of utmost importance as it shows the extent of Muhammad Tughlaq's conquest so far into the South. The inscriptional slab once decorated the top of a large gateway built into the Southern town-wall but was found lying in the neighbourhood of a mosque—Arba' Masjid—broken into four pieces. It has now been fixed together and preserved in the locality where it was found. The slab measures 8 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. and the style of writing is *Naskh* similar to that of the other inscriptions of Muhammad Tughlaq found at Bodhan, Daulatabad and other places. The gateway is built in the pillar—and—lintel style and the town-wall and its bastions are also tapering inward from bottom to top which is a distinctive feature of the Tughlaq architecture. The inscription has already been edited in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for 1931–32 and gives the original name

of the town as 'Ustadabad.' At present there is no town of this name in the neighbourhood of Gogi but the mention of the construction of a (حصار) i.e., enclosure wall or rampart at 'Ustadabad'—in the inscription has made some scholars conclude that the inscription belonged to some other place—probably, Shahpur which may have once been known by this name. But the cavity which exists to this day at the top of the gateway mentioned above is clear proof of the fact that the inscriptional slab originally belonged to this very gateway and that despite the mention of the building of the (حصار) the 'Ustadabad' of the inscription is really the previous name of the present town of Gogi. The next object of considerable interest in the town is the Dargah of Hazrat Pir Chanda Shah Husaini whose real name was Jalaluddin Muhammad. The date of demise of the saint is 10th Shaban, 858 H. (1454 A.D.) and this has been expressed in the chronogram *Rukh-e-Chanda.* Pir Chanda Shah Husaini flourished during the reigns of the Baihmani kings, Ahmad Shah Wali (1427-36 A.D.) and Alauddin Ahmad II (1436–58 A.D.). After the death of the saint the town of Gogi was held in great esteem. Gogi was conferred as a jagir on Ismail Adil Shah in 1489 A.D. for the remarkable services he had rendered as Commander-in-Chief under Muhammad Shah Baihmani. The fond attachment and devotion which the Adil Shahi kings had for Gogi made them select the place as their necropolis and four of these monarchs—Yusuf Adil Shah (1419–1510 A.D.), Ismail Adil Shah (1510–34 A.D.), Mallu Adil Shah (1534 A.D.) and Ibrahim Adil Shah I (1534–58 A.D.) lie buried in the premises of the Dargah of Hazrat Chanda Shah Husaini.

There are three other Persian inscriptions at the place but they are all of the Bijapur regime. These inscriptions have also been edited in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for 1931–32 A.D.

The grave of the saint is built on a roofed plate-form and by his side lies buried his son Syed Nur Alam Husaini. An exquisitely carved enclosure wall surrounds the platform and the panels of trellis screens show advanced æsthetic sense. About 36 ft. to the West of this platform there is a double hall supported on two rows of three arches each in which are buried the four Adil Shahi kings.

To further West of these structures is the tomb of Fatima Sultana, sister of Ali Adil Shah (1557–1580 A.D.). This building does not pretend to any great architectural importance. Immediately to the East of this building is a small mosque with five arched openings also of no great architectural significance.

At the Eastern end of these buildings stands the Kali Masjid which was also constructed by Fatima Sultana. This edifice is constructed of dark grey stone and this may account for its name.

The mosque is a fine example of Bijapur architecture—entered through a domed entrance crowned with four slim minarets at the corners. The mosque proper stands on a high platform, 868 ft. square, and has three arched openings facing East. The cut-plaster decoration surrounding the arches and the carved stone chhajja supported on elegent Hindu brackets of stone and an ornamental parapet give the building an effiminate touch and the treces of enamelled tile medallions still to be seen here and there intermingled with stucco work of the facade bespeak of a very ornate piece of architectnre. Two slender minarets surmounted with disproportionately large domes and another considerably larger dome crowning the '*Iiwan*' (Prayer niche) attract the sight of the visitor from a long distance. This dome, like other Bijapur domes, is narrow-necked and a band of lotus petals decorates its drum. A lofty finial surmounted by a crescent gives a finishing touch to the monument. A series of screens exquisitely carved in plaster encloses the courtyard of the mosque on three sides.

Gogi is situated 48 miles to the East of Bijapur and a newly constructed motorable road now connects Bijapur with this town. Visitors interested in Bijapur architecture may be benefited by a trip to Gogi with a view to complete their picture of the culturel which the Adil Shahi dynasty has bequeathed to posterity. Beyond this the visitors can have a glance at Muhammad Tughlaq's inscription and the more interested among the visitors who have opportunities of exploring further may pry into the remotest traces of Prehistoric culture. As you all gentlemen know there is a scheme now before H. E. H. the Nizam's Government to provide for a thorough survey and exploration of Prehistoric sites in the various parts of the Dominions and also to establish local Museums for the convenience and enlightenment of visitors, which while affording facilities to the visitor and the scholar may afford the proper means for a synthetic study of the subject.

مدرسہ محمود گاواں

از

مولوی سید محمد بیدری صاحب

ملک التجار خواجہ جہاں محمود گاواں وزیر اعظم دولت بہمنیہ نے سلطان السلاطین جلال الدین محمد شاہ ثانی بہمنی کے زمانے میں بمقام بیدر ترکی شاہزادے یوسف عادل خاں عماد الملک کے مشورہ سے مدرسہ کی شاندار عمارت تعمیر کرائی۔ ۸۶۵ھ میں اس کی تعمیر شروع ہوئی اور ۸۷۶ھ (۱۱) سال کی مدت میں تعمیر ختم ہوئی اور ۸۷۷ھ میں افتتاح مدرسہ و سلسلہ درس کا آغاز ہوا۔ تاریخ تعمیر آیت قرآن شریف رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا سے ۸۷۶ھ نکلتی ہے یہ ایک ایسی دعائیہ تاریخ ہے جس کے سبب محمود گاوان کا مدرسہ مقبول عام ہوا۔ عمارت مدرسہ چوگوشہ مستطیل اور نہایت خوب صورت نفیس دلفریب وضع کی ہے جس کی نقاشی اور ساخت بے نظیر ہے۔ طول (۷۵) گز اور عرض (۵۵) گز ہے۔ دو مینار اور رو کار مع چند گنبدوں کے نہایت عالی شان وسطوت والی چار منزلہ عمارت بنوائی گئی تھی۔ میناروں کا ارتفاع

فٹ ہے۔ (۱۲۵)

تعمیر مدرسہ میں سنگِ سیاہ اور مضبوط اینٹ و چونے سے سارا کام لیا گیا ہے اور عمارہ عمدہ قدیم مصالحہ سے اس کی درز بندی کی گئی ہے۔ روکار اور مینار مدرسہ پر بہترین روغنی و چینی نقش و نگار کا کام ہوا ہے۔ اس کے مشرقی دیوار کی پیشانی پر سفید چینی سے نیلی زمین پر عمدگی و نہایت نفاست سے آیاتِ قرانی تحریر کیے گئے تھے۔ سورہ زیر پارہ فمن اظلم ۲۴ قرآن مجید قال اللہ تعالیٰ رب العالمین کتبہ علی الصوفی ۔۳۔۴ فٹ کے قریب حروف ...... موٹے ہیں۔ اور وسعت حروف ۶ انچ سے کم نہیں ہے۔ قلم اتنا خوش خط اور بے نظیر نسخ اور دوائر پر مبنی ہے کہ گھنٹوں دیکھنے سے بھی سیری نہیں ہوتی اور آنکھوں میں تازگی آجاتی ہے۔ اس وقت بھی جو نقش و نگار ہیں وہ ہر ایک زندہ دل سیلاح اور فنون لطیفہ کے شائق کو حیرت میں ڈال دیتے ہیں۔ ہندستان کی ساری عمارات قدیم و جدید میں مدرسۂ محمودیہ کے جیسی عمارت ڈھونڈے سے بھی نہیں ملتی اور نہ دکن میں اس کی نظیر ہے۔ حالانکہ اس کے بعد سلاطین بحری و عادل شاہی نے اپنے اپنے شہروں احمد نگر و بیجاپور میں ایک ایک مدرسہ اسی طرز کا تعمیر کیا تھا۔ احمد نگر میں اس مدرسہ کے کھنڈرات اب تک موجود ہیں اور بیجاپور میں تو صرف نام ہی نام رہ گیا ہے فی الحقیقت دولت بہمنیہ کی بدولت بیدر تخت گاہ بہمنیہ بنا اور اس کے بعد وزیر اعظم محمود گاواں نے مدرسہ کے لیے شاندار عمارت تعمیر کرائی، اور مرکز علوم و فنون کے اعتبار سے اس شہر کو دکن کا قرطبہ و بغداد بنایا۔ محمود گاواں کی تاریخ شہادت ۸۸۶ھ شہر کے اعتبار سے اس کو صرف دس سال تک اس مدرسہ کی خدمت کرنے کا موقع ملا۔

اور یہی مدرسہ محمود گاواں کے عروج کا کازمانہ سمجھا جاتا ہے۔

مدرسہ سے متعلق دولت بہمنیہ کے مراعات

عہد بہمنیہ میں لاکھوں روپے کی آمدنی کے جاگیرات اور مختلف عطیات مدرسہ پر وقف تھے۔ اس کے ذریعہ سے اس بے نظیر جامعہ کے اخراجات اور طلباء کے طعام ولباس و رہائش کے مصارف پورے ہوتے تھے مزید براں علماء وفضلائے عصر اور اساتذہ مدرسہ کی بہترین خدمت کی جاتی تھی ہزاروں اشرفیاں سالانہ تحائف کے طور پر علماء کے نذر ہوتی تھیں۔ سلطان محمود شاہ بہمنی کے زمانے تک یہ مراعات جاری رہے۔ مدرسہ کی ترمیم و آہک پاشی وغیرہ کا بھی خاص انتظام تھا۔ اس کے لیے ہزاروں روپے کی جاگیر کے علاوہ کئی ہزار تنگہ نقد دیے جاتے تھے۔ اس کے لیے محمود شاہ بہمنی کی عطا کردہ اصلی سند کمترین کے پاس موجود ہے۔ یہ سند عالی عین الملک اسمہ الیاس ترک کی موسومہ ہے اس میں ایک موضع اور نقد دو ہزار تین سو چالیس تنگہ سالانہ کی صراحت ہے موضع کا نام پڑھا نہیں جاتا۔

نظم و نسق مدرسہ بزمانہ بہمنیہ

علماء وفضلاء کی نشست کے لیے اوپر کے کمرے مقرر تھے۔ دوسری اور تیسری منزل کے وسطی کمرے طلباء کے لیے وقف تھے بعض درجوں میں علوم دینیات کے درس کی نشستیں تھیں اور بقیہ حصوں میں حفاظ اور تجوید قرآن اور حدیث کے طالب علم رہتے تھے جہاں روزانہ صحیح بخاری شریف کا درس بلاناغہ ہوا کرتا تھا۔ اعلیٰ درجوں کے طلباء ابتدائی جماعتوں کو تعلیم دیتے تھے۔ ایسے طلبا "موئد" کہلاتے تھے۔

مدرسہ کا نصاب تعلیم یہ تھا۔ صرف و نحو عربی زبان میں۔ منطق ریاضیات۔ ہندسہ، ہیئت، فقہ، حدیث، علوم، معقول و منقول، حکمت ادب۔

اس میں تعلیم کے دو درجے تھے۔ ملازم اور مدرس۔ پہلا امتحان کامیاب ہونے پر ملازم کی سند ملتی تھی اور طالب علم کا نام ایک خاص رجسٹر میں جس کو روزنامچہ ہمایوں کہتے تھے درج ہوتا تھا۔ درجۂ ملازم کے نصاب کے دو حصے تھے۔ پہلے میں بلاغت اور علم کلام کی انتہائی کتابیں پڑھائی جاتی تھیں اور دوسرے میں اصول فقہ، قانون حدیث اور عقائد کی تعلیم ہوتی تھی۔ ملازم صرف دوم درجوں کے شہروں کا قاضی یا نائب قاضی ہو سکتا تھا۔

مدرس کے درجوں کے لیے کوئی خاص مضمون یا امتحان نہ تھا بلکہ ایک مدت معینہ تک لازم تھا کہ وہ اونچی جماعتوں کو خاص خاص مضامین پر لکچر دیا کرے۔ اس مدت کے بعد اس کو ایک سند ملتی تھی۔ مدرسی کی سند حاصل کرنے کے بعد اس کو سلطنت میں جلیل القدر منصب کا استحقاق ہو جاتا تھا۔ بلحاظ تعلیم مدرس کی کئی قسمیں تھیں۔ کاتب۔ منشی مولوی مُلّا۔ مُلّا منازل تعلیم کا کمال تھا جو شاعری طب اور جملہ فنون کا منتہی ہوتا تھا۔ وزارت۔ قضاۃ صدارت اور قاضی القضات کی خدمتیں انھیں دی جاتی تھیں۔ یہاں کے مُلّا بڑے بڑے علما، و فضلا مشہور عالم ہوئے ہیں اور بعض اپنے زمانے کے بڑے مورخ اور ادیب گزرے ہیں اور بعض کا علامہ میں شمار تھا۔ ملّا عزیز۔ ملّا نظام الدین۔ ملّا راج اللہ صدر الصدور بہمنیہ۔ مُلّا تاج اللہ قاضی القضاۃ مملکت بہمنیہ۔ مُلّا محمود صدر جہاں عرصہ دراز تک بہمنیہ سلطنت

کے وزیر اوقاف وعطیات رہے ہیں۔ عہد بہمنیہ میں علوم وفنون کی اشاعت اس وسیع اور مستحکم پیرایہ سے ہوتی تھی کہ چھوٹے چھوٹے قصبات اور مواضعات تک مُلّا ہی مُلّا نظر آتے تھے۔ ان کی یہ گرم بازاری لاکھوں کروڑوں مسلمانوں کے امن وامان کا باعث ہوئی۔ اور اب بھی ہزاروں مواضعات میں پچھلے نامور مُلّاؤں کے خاندان کی یادگاریں باقی ہیں۔ ان کی تلاش سے قدیم خاندانوں کے شجرے اور حالات دستیاب ہو سکتے ہیں

کتب خانہ

مدرسہ میں ایک کتب خانہ بھی تھا جس میں قیمتی تصانیف اور مصاحیف تھے۔ ان میں چند مصاحیف تو اس زمانے میں بھی بے نظیر خیال کیے جاتے تھے۔ اس کتب خانہ کے ایک کلام مجید کی صفت یہ معلوم ہوئی کہ قریب ایک ہزار ورق کا ضخیم تھا اور ہر ورق میں پردۂ شکم آہو جو نہایت کوشش سے ملتا اور بڑی احتیاط سے تیار ہوتا ہے لگا ہوا تھا۔ ان پردوں کی قیمت کئی ہزار اشرفی تھی۔ یہ پردے در اصل محافظ قرآن شریف تھے۔ ان پردوں کے جادو اثر تاثیر سے قرآن شریف ایسا معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ گویا کل ہی اس کی تکمیل ہوئی ہے۔ اس کی تیاری کے لیے۔ بڑے نقاشان روزگار کشمیر۔ اصفہان، ہندوستان و دمشق سے بہم پہنچائے گئے تھے۔

معلمین مدرسۂ محمود گاواں

محمود گاواں ریاضی کی تعلیم دیتا تھا مولانا عبدالرحمٰن نورالدین جامی کا انتخاب اس مدرسہ کی صدارت پر ہوا تھا مگر بعض وجوہات سے وہ نہ آسکے حضرت شیخ سماءالدین سہروردی کے مرید وخلیفہ حضرت شیخ جلال الدین جلالی تھے اپنے

مرشد کے اشارے سے جمالی تخلص فرمانے لگے۔ دہلی سے آپ حجاز تشریف لے گئے۔ سلطان والی ہرات کے زمانے میں ہرات پہنچے اور مولانا میر علی شیر کے توسل سے حضرت جامی کے پاس تشریف لے گئے جہاں ایک عرصہ تک رہے۔ آپ نے حضرت جامی کو بیدر چلنے کے لیے توجہ دلائی اور مولانا جامی علیہ الرحمہ نے شیخ جمالی کو مدرسہ محمودیہ کی صدارت کے لیے تحریک کی۔ لیکن تنزلی سلطنت بہمنیہ کے حالات سے دونوں بزرگوں نے ارادہ ترک فرمایا۔ وہاں سے شیخ جمالی ہندوستان آگئے اور بابر کی صحبت میں رہے آپ کا وصال ۹۴۲ھ میں ہوا۔ دہلی میں مزار ہے۔ "آثار صنادید" میں آپ کا ذکر ہے۔

حافظ عبدالعزیز قادری نبسۂ حضرت سید السادات سید حنیف صاحب قبلہ رح

آپ کا مزار بیدر میں جانب مغرب ریلوے اسٹیشن کے قریب ہے۔

قطب العصر مولانا سید شاہ محی الدین ابراہیم شریف القادری الملتانی رح

سلطان علاء الدین بہمنی آپ کی علمی قابلیت کا بڑا معترف تھا۔ وصال ۱۰ جمادی الثانی ۸۰۸ھ کو ہوا۔ مزار اندرون آبادی بیدر متصل قلعہ ارک ہے۔

سید محمد صدر ابوالقاسم جرجانی۔ آپ علم منطق میں کامل اور امام الوقت تھے۔ مولانا شیخ ابراہیم سرہندی۔ مولانا شمس الدین سامی۔ علامہ سید عبدالقادر الحسینی متعاف رح۔ امین الدین بن عماد الدین الحسینی مولانا شاہ رفیع اللہ قادری رح۔ ملا عین الدین سبزواری دوسرے مشہور علماء گذرے ہیں۔ مولانا سید محمد حسین جعفری الحسینی بیجاپوری عالمگیری رح مسجد مدرسہ میں

بجلی کے صدمہ سے ۱۱ رمضان ۳۰؁ھ میں شہید ہوئے۔ آپ کا مزار بیدر میں ریلوے اسٹیشن کے قریب ہے۔

دارالاقامہ

مدرسہ سے متعلق ایک دارالاقامہ تھا جس کو "تمتہ" کہتے تھے اس میں آٹھ وسیع کمرے تھے اور ہر ایک کمرے میں (۳۰) طلباء بلا فیس رہتے تھے اور یہ اعلیٰ تعلیم کے طلباء کے لیے مختص تھے ان کے کھانے کپڑے وغیرہ کا انتظام مدرسہ سے ہوتا تھا۔ ابتدائی تعلیم کے طلباء کی رہائش کا علیحدہ انتظام تھا۔ ان سے بھی کسی قسم کی فیس نہیں لی جاتی تھی۔

خاندان بہمنیہ کا زوال مدرسہ محمودیہ کی تباہی کا پہلا سبب

جب دولت بہمنیہ تباہ ہوگئی اور اور شاہان بریدیہ کا تسلط ہوا تو دارالسلطنت بہمنیہ ہونے کے باعث اور ہمسایہ سلطنتوں کے خوف سے کہ ایک نہ ایک روز بیدر پر لشکر کشی اور جنگ عظیم ہوگی۔ بیدر کے حصار کی بنیاد کی تجویز قرار پائی سنگ سیاہ کی عدم میسری کے سبب علی برید شاہ فرماں روائے بیدر نے کل امرائے دولت و مشائخین اور معززین کو طلب کر کے پوچھا کہ آیا زندوں کی حفاظت ضروری ہے یا مردوں کی۔ سب نے کہا زندوں کی حفاظت ضروری ہے۔ علی برید نے مطلب کا جواب سن کر ایک فتوے پر سب کے دستخط لیے۔ عام طور پر جس قدر عظیم الشان عمارات اور رفاہِ عام کے ایوانات گنبدیں اور جو قصر تھے توڑ کر فصیل و حصار و برج تیار کیے۔ مدرسہ محمود گاواں سے متعلق جو عمارات تھے وہ بھی سب کے سب توڑ دیے گئے۔ صرف مدرسہ ان حوادث سے بچ گیا۔ عہد بریدیہ میں بعض جنگی خدشوں اور ہمسایہ شاہان بیجاپور احمد نگر و گولکنڈہ کی شورشوں سے اس کی موقوفہ جائداد میں

دست درازی شروع ہوئی اور اکثر جاگیرات موقوفہ کا طوائف الملوکی کے رقبہ اور علاقہ میں ہونے کے باعث ہمسایہ سلطنتوں نے متمتع ہونے نہ دیا۔ سلطنت بریدیہ کا رقبہ اس قدر محدود ہو گیا کہ اس کی ماتحتی میں صرف دو تین ضلع اور چار ہزار فوج رہ گئی۔ دار السلطنت بیدر سے گل وہ اگلی شان مفقود ہو گئی اور اطراف و اکناف سے بوجہ ماتحتی جو عوام کی آمد و رفت تھی اس کا سلسلہ منقطع ہو گیا اکثر مکانات ویران ہو گئے اور اس کے ساتھ ساتھ مدرسہ کی ویرانی میں بھی کوئی کسر باقی نہیں رہی ۱۰۲۰ھ تک بریدیہ زمانے میں مدرسہ کا یہ حال رہا۔ فرمانروایان بیجاپور کا بیدر پر قبضہ ہونے کے بعد قلعداری کا سلسلہ شروع ہوا یہاں تک علی عادل شاہ ثانی کے زمانے میں رہی سہی جائداد کو ان کی بیگم ملکہ پری بانو کے اخراجات ذاتی کے لیے ملک سرجان مختار الملک والاجاہ نائب السلطنت عادل شاہیہ نے شریک کر دیا ۱۰۶۶ھ تک عادل شاہیہ قلعداری رہی — ۱۱۵۱ھ تک بادشاہ دہلی کی طرف سے یہاں قلعدار ہوتے رہے۔

مدرسہ پر عالمگیری توجہ شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر غازی نے ۱۰۷۶ھ میں بیدر فتح کیا اور مدرسہ کی بیکسی اور بربادی سے سخت متاثر ہو کر اس کی درستی اور تعمیر کا انتظام فرمایا اور حکم دیا کہ پچھلی حالت پر لانے کی کوشش کی جائے متعدد قلعداران عالی مقام مثلاً نواب افتخار خاں بہادر عالمگیر مختار خاں الحسینی سبزواری اور نواب تلندر خاں نے اس کو اعلیٰ حالت پر لانے کی کوشش کی اور اس میں درس و تدریس کا کام شروع ہو گیا۔ ۱۰۸۰ھ کے دورہ دکن کے زمانہ میں شہنشاہ عالمگیر غازی نے بیجاپور کے نامور عالم مولانا صبغۃ اللہ مدنی کے جانشین مولوی سید محمد حسین صاحب کو منتخب فرما کر مدرسۂ محمودیہ کا امام المدرسین مقرر کیا۔

مدرسۂ محمودیہ کی بربادی کا دوسرا سبب

۱۱ رمضان المبارک ۱۰۰۷ھ میں جلال الدین قلعدار کے زمانے میں بجلی کے صدمے سے اس مدرسہ کے جنوب و مشرق کے دو حصے کی عمارت منہدم ہوگئی۔ مدرسہ کی لکڑی کے دروازے اور صندل و آبنوس کا عملہ فعلہ اور مطلا و مذہب چھت بھی دست تظلم سے نہ بچ سکے۔ جو عمارت خالی پتھروں کی باقی رہ گئی تھی تو اس سے ضرورتاً فوجی میگزین کا کام لیا جانے لگا۔ کئی حصوں میں گولہ باروت تھی اور کچھ حصوں میں بیکار اسلحہ رکھے گئے تھے۔ مدرسہ منہدم ہونے کے بعد عالمگیری درس و تدریس کا انتظام درہم برہم ہوگیا عہد مغلیہ کے خاتمہ پر ملک کی حالت بد سے بدتر ہوگئی تھی سب کے سب اپنے اپنے انتظامات اور شورشوں کے مٹانے میں لگے ہوئے تھے۔ دکن کا بہت سا حصّہ نواب قمرالدین خاں بہادر آصفجاہ اول بانی خاندان آصفیہ کے قبضہ میں آچکا تھا بیدر کے عالمگیری قلعدار واصل خاں کو چانکلیر جاگیر دے اور قلعداری سے معزول کرکے نواب آصفجاہ اول نے میر کلاں خاں بہادر کو بیدر کی قلعداری عطا کی۔ فوجی اور اجارہ داری کے زمانہ میں تعلیم اور تعلّم کا کوئی باقاعدہ انتظام نہیں تھا۔ نواب مختارالملک سرسالار جنگ بہادر کے زمانۂ وزارت تک مدرسہ کھنڈر بنا رہا اور جس قدر پتھر چونہ اور اینٹ کا انبار تھا اس سے لوگوں نے اپنے مکان بنالے۔

QUTLUGH KHAN'S POLICY IN THE DECCAN

BY

SYED SIRAJUDDIN AHMED, M.A., (HYDERABAD-DN.)

ALLAUDDIN KHILJI who was one of the most capable administrators of India and the first Muslim Sovereign to rule Deccan, knew well how to keep control over this part of his vast empire. He exercised only paramount power, wisely granting internal sovereignty to local Rajahs.[1] His successors, however, did not adhere to this policy, and the Deccan became part and parcel of the Sultanate of Delhi. But the reaction to this change in the imperial policy soon set in and centrifugal forces came into play resulting in the resurgence of the Deccan during the last days of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It was at this transitory hour, when the Deccan stood on the threshold of liberation from foreign dominance, that Qutlugh Khan was entrusted with the administration of a major part of the Deccan and did his best to serve the interests of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Qutlugh Khan came of a very respectable family. His real name was Qiyamuddin and Qutlugh Khan was the title conferred by Ghiasuddin Tughluq. His father, Burhanuddin Alimul Mulk, was once the Kotwal of Delhi.[2] When Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne, he too lavished royal favours on Qutlugh's family.[3] The title of Alp Khan was bestowed on Mohammad, the eldest son of Qutlugh Khan, while his brothers Kamaluddin and Nizamuddin were respectively given the titles of Sadr Jahan and Alam-ul-Mulk.[4] Alap Khan was appointed governor of Gujrat, while Qutlugh Khan was confirmed in his former post of the Naib Vazier of Deogir. Qutlugh was also one of the tutors of the king and the latter had, therefore, the utmost regard for him. That is why Qutlugh never visited the king unless sent for, so that the king might be spared the trouble of standing up time and again to receive his teacher.[5]

Qutlugh Khan's reappointment as the Naib-Vazier of Deogir is very significant. Deogir or Daulatabad is, broadly speaking, situated in the heart of India. Gujrat, Malwa, Marhatwara and

1. Vide my article "Alauddin's Policy in the Deccan", published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1941.
2. Barni–Page 428.
3. Ibid–Page 424.
4. Yahya bin Ahmad–Page 94 (Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi).
5. Ibn-e-Batuta-Vol, II Page 175, Barni-Page 507

Telangana are almost equidistant from it. These parts of the Tughluq empire had soon turned into notorious centres of rebellion and insurrection, because their remoteness from the capital, Delhi, and the lack of adequate means of communications had rendered an effective control by the Central Government, almost impossible. The governors of these subas were therefore usually tempted to declare independence and caused much worry to Mohammad bin Tughluq. He had only two alternatives before him ; (a) to transfer the capital from Delhi to Deogir to tighten his grip over the Deccan, or (b) to appoint a trusted noble at Deogir with powers enough to quell any insurrection in the adjoining provinces. Of these, the first alternative appealed to the scheming mind of the king and he hastily put it into operation without considering other aspects of the problem or the practical difficulties it presented. The result was a miserable failure. This abortive attempt at transferring the capital by forcing the citizens of Delhi to emigrate to Deogir made him all the more unpopular among his subjects. Besides, this tempted the governors of the northern parts of the empire to revolt against the king.[6] Being perplexed and irritated he gave up the idea of making Deogir the permanent seat of Government and took up the other alternative regarding the appointment of a trusted noble at Deogir. His choice fell on Qutlugh Khan and the latter's remarkable administration of that province shows that the choice was a right one.[7]

Qutlugh Khan was vested with full powers by the king and was allowed to choose his own lieutenants.[8] At a time when disintegration had crept in the kingdom and the king was harassed by rebellions at remote corners of his extensive empire, Qutlugh Khan very capably maintained control over the Marhat or Maharashtra[9] and even subdued rebellions outside his province by special order of the king. Thus he went to Bidar and humbled Shihab Sultani, Governor of that place in 1339.[10] A month later he quelled the rebellion of Ali Shah, a nephew and staunch supporter of Hasan,[11] who later founded the Bahmani Kingdom. Within the territories directly under his control, law and order prevailed. The revenue coffers were full.[12] He was a terror to the centurions-petty nobles who were spread over most part of the Deccan and had developed a sort of fraternal feeling among them because of common animosity towards the king whose harshness and ill-temper

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6. Dr. Mehdi Hussain " The Rise and Fall of Mohammad bin Tughluq " Page 142.
7. Barni, Page 481.
8. Briggs-(Firishta) Vol. II Pags 285.
9. For initance the rebellion of Kanhiah Naik.
10. Firishta Vol. 1 Page 138
11. Isami-(Futuh-Us-Salateen) Page 464-477. Yahya bin Ahmed-Page 108.
12. Nizamuddin- (Tabaqat-e-Akbari) Page 107.

had become quite unbearable. They were secretly planning to free the Deccan from the clutches of the Central Government but they knew that as long as Qutlugh Khan was there at Deogir, their hopes could not be realised. Such was the tight grip of Qutlugh Khan. But he did not remain long in the Deccan as the king summoned him back to Delhi in 1346.[13]

The reasons for this sudden recall of Qutlugh Khan can easily be found out. Muhammad bin Tughluq was an idealist. He held his aspirations too high and conceived schemes which though theoritically sound were almost impracticable during his times. In the last days of his reign he became very ill-tempered and capricious as the failure of his magnificent projects due to miscalculations worried his heart and he resorted to a policy of suppression and persecution.[14] This, all the more provoked the nobles and governors. Rebellions which were not infrequent during the early years of his reign became quite a common feature during the later years.[15] The king was infuriated and decided to remove all the old nobles of decent birth and to replace them by persons of low rank who would, he hoped, implicitly carry out his orders because of their former low positions in life.[16] The removal of Qutlugh Khan was a result of this change in policy. The self-seeking young nobles who had got access to the king, poisoned his ears against Qutlugh.[17] The king, in a state of excitement, believed their words, quite ignoring the brilliant record of Qutlugh's services and worked his own ruin by recalling the only governor in the Deccan who was both loyal and very capable. The Mrahat (Maharashtra) was then divided into four divisions, each under the charge of an officer and the four officers appointed were Malik Sirdawatdar, Malik Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Bughra and Aziz whom Barni has referred to in highly contemptuous terms. These officials, who were quite inexperienced and young, could not jointly do what Qutlugh did all alone. They possessed neither his tact nor his nobility of mind and were only capable of tormenting others. They perpetrated atrocities on the Amiran-e-Sadeh (centurions) and treacherously murdered some of them.[18] By way of retaliation these Amirs rose as one man against the king. The king personally marched from Delhi to suppress the rebellion but no sooner did he reach Broach than rebellion in Gujrat forced him to retrace his steps. What happened next, is known to all; the Deccan severed

13. Mehdi Hussain-" The Rise and Fall of Mohammed bin Tughluq-Page 177.

14. Barni, Page 504

15. In all 22 rebellions occurred during his reign. Dr. Mehdi Hussain: " The Rise and Fall of Mohammad bin Tughluq " Page 141.

16. Barni, Page 501.

17. The accused him of having harboured the rebels who had fled from Gujrat-Briggs (Firishta) Vol II Page 285.

18. Barni, Pages 503-505.

its connections with Delhi and Bahmani Kingdom was founded in 1347.

Qutlugh Khan based his administration on wise principles. He was a strict disciplinarian and a man of high morals. Barni has lavished praises on him and rightly too.[19] Endowed as he was with remarkable talents, it would have been so easy for him to found an independent state in the Deccan. But unflinching loyalty to the Sultan prevented him from doing so. Thus he set a noble example for others to follow while those who were bent upon mischief and would not emulate him, could not dare to act up to their sinister motives under his very nose. They feared him so much. His devotion to the Sultan is further testified by his voluntary offer of services to his royal master who had set out to subdue the Amira-ne-Sadah. Although the king had failed to appreciate his good work at Deogir and had ruthlessly dismissed him from office, Qutlugh Khan still had deep regard for the king and could not tolerate that the king should himself go to fight with petty nobles. But the Sultan did not listen to him and once again committed a strategic blunder that produced devastating results.[20] Had he sent Qutlugh to check the turbulent amirs, he would have been free to deal with other upstarts. Qutlugh would have surely suppressed the Amiran-i-Sadah and the history of the Deccan would have been quite different.

One of the reasons of Qutlugh's dismissal is stated to be his refusal to introduce new taxes in his province to raise the revenues of the Central Government. This is another clue to Qutlugh's administrative policy. He believed in the prosperity of the subjects who are the back-bone of the state.[21] He preferred the common good of the people to his selfish gains and refused to carry out the policy of the king in regard to new taxation although for this he had to lose his high official position. These good traits had made him a popular leader and almost a hero. When he left Deogir the people wept for him,[22] for, one who was a source of strength both to the empire and the people and a terror to mischief mongers, was leaving them. On the other hand the citizens of Delhi regretted the unwise action of the Sultan in calling him back for they knew well that Deogir would shortly fall out of the empire.[23]

A cistern and a Baradari constructed by him at Daulatabad, which still exist in a ruinous condition, recall to memory his eventful tenure of office in the Deccan.[24]

19. Barni-Page 508.
20. Barni-Pages 507-508.
21. Ibid-Page 502.
22. Isami-Page 480.
23. Barni-Page 502.
24. Firishta-Vol. I Page 140.

The First Muslim Invasion of the Deccan

BY

RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE M. A.

THE ease, assurance and rapidity, with which a foreign army, with a complete disregard for its lines of communications, penetrated into the Indian peninsula from the Vindhyas, to the southernmost part of India, the Rameshwar, one of the holiest places in India, is an event which has many phases. Its causes are to be found not only in the military or political happenings but in the social conditions of these States.

The Vindhyas in the north, from Mirzapur in the east to the sea in the west, along with the Narbada and the Satpudas and the Gondvanas in the south including the intervening part towards the sea, with all the dense forests inhabited by the fierce forest tribes, formed the strong barrier division and defence between the north and the south. The mountain passes were discovered far too late after the northern Indian kingdoms had established their sway in the Deccan; before that the only route to the south from the north was through the coastal territory, which was known since the time of Kalidas, who in his conquest of Raghu, refers to it and which was used by the Malwa and Gujrat kings to invade the kingdoms of the south.

It was not until 1165 A. D. that the Rajputs took possession of the island of Mandhata in the middle course of the Narbada, about its half way. But they were so few that they mixed with the local tribes–the Bhils–cohabited with their females and produced the race known as Bhilalas. This invasion of the Rajputs between the Narbada and the Satpuras was an isolated event and even until the Muslim conquest of and consolidation in Malwa, the Bhils, as described by Sir John Malcolm in the "Memoirs of Central India" were the formidable obstacle to communications between these two parts of India. In the eastern portion of the Vindhyas, there were the kingdoms of the Gonds and other wild tribes, who had flourished on the ruins of the ancient kingdoms of the Guptas and the Wakatakas. These circumstances made the people, living in the peninsula, oblivious of the events in the north. It is true that even in the Budhist times, and afterwards, bands of pilgrims wandered all over India and brought stories to the peoples of the south of the ferocities and the spreading conquests of the foreigners, who professed another religion. They also became aware of the

destruction of temples and the disappearance of the Hindu ruel in the north.

It, however, took the foreigners three or five centuries to reach the border line of the Vindhyas, since their arrival in the eighth or tenth century as conquerers. For the first time in 1235 it was that Altamash looted Ujjain and demolished the famous temple of Mahankal. This also did not cause fear below the barrier, in the south. It was not until 1293 that this region was overtaken by the Mohammedans. Their invasions ended in 1301 when Allauddin occupied Ujjain, the spiritual, if not the political, capital of Malwa.

His further progress in this direction seems to have been stopped by the formidable barrier of forests and mountains on both sides of the Narbada. He must have come to know from his countrymen, or spies, about the territories and even from the traders who entered the south from the seas, of the weakness and at the same time of the riches of the kingdoms in this part of India. Simultaneously with the invasions in the central part of the country, bands of Mohammedans seem to have passed through the wild country known as Gondvana or from beyond Mirzapur and had come in contact with the capital of Devagiri, which was held by the Yadavas, who in past centuries, seem to have been driven from the north and come to occupy this part of the country. In 1304 Allauddin himsef took this route and appeared before Devagiri and was bought off. This roused his lust. His General Malik Kafur again invaded Devagiri in 1306-07, while the Rulers of the Deccan were thinking that the danger had passed. They however, did not utilise the time in strengthening their forces but were engaged in abuses of pleasure, extasies of religion or internecine quarrels. The next five years Malik Kafur utilised in bye-passing Devagiri and attacking the Andhra capital of Warangal in 1309 and concluded his raid or conquest of Duara Samudra, the Pandya capital, and occupied Rameshwaram. While he was doing this, Shankardev of Devagiri went on a pilgrimage with all his army. On his way back Malik Kafur found Devagiri without defence, overwhelmed Shankardev and his kingdom. Allauddin died in 1315 and his successor in Northern

India, Mubarak, invaded the Deccan in 1318-19 and established the Mohammedan rule in the country. This Mohammedan kingdom, however, did not lead to any awakening on the part of the remaining Hindu kingdoms in the south or west. In 1323 Ulughkhan, who later became Mohammad Tughlagh, invaded Warangal in 1326-27 and made Devagiri his second capital, in the south, as he had Delhi in the north. About 326 the Vijayanagar kingdom, which later acquired power and accumulated riches and became a centre of trade and commerce at its capital, was founded. About ten years later the sway of Delhi in the Deccan was replaced by the coming into existance of the Bahmani rule, with its capital at Gulbaga.

The weakening of the Empire at Delhi led to the weakening of its power at Daulatabad, the new name of Devagiri, and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar assumed the style of an Empire. Its splendour and grandeur are described by travellers, while it still existed, it had defects, similar to those of the Yadav kingdom, and it came to a disastrous end in 1564, although its remains continued. It seemed, however, that the whole of the Peninsula would pass in the Mohammedan domination.

As the above narrative will show, within a quarter of a century, that is from the first entrance of Allauddin into the Deccan and the assaults on Devagiri between 1293 to 1304 A.D. and 1318-19 when Mubarak invaded Deccan, and established his rule in the cetnral part of the Peninsula, the foreign power planted its foot on the soil, which is still there.

At this time the psychological condition in the Deccan was much the same which led France to fall behind the Maginot Line. The mountains and forests on both sides of the Narbada and the forest of Gondvana on the east, as well as the kingdom of Gujrat on the west, acted as the Maginot Line to the people. The outsiders penetrated the southern barrier while Hindu States in the south were constructing magnificent temples, although temples were being demolished in the north. New States were arising in the south, in place of the Kadambas and Chalukyas and others. The feeling that existed was that the barrier was impenetrable; it is

demonstrated by the fact that Kamaldevi, the daughter of Devaldevi, while being taken to Devagiri was intercepted by a small Mohammedan force near the Ajanta Caves and her small escort was quite over-whelmed and she was taken away. When, however, an armed force appeared at the gates of Devagiri, it was taken to be a band of robbers and was bought off. There was so much security felt in the State, that when it passed through its outlying districts on its way to the capital, no notice of it was taken, until it attacked the capital itself. The same indifference was noticed when seven years later, Malik Kafur took a strong force to the south, attacked the capital of the Pandya kingdom and took Rameshwaram. It is a surprise that while Shankardev was in pursuit of him, nobody thought of interfering with the rear of Malik's force and Shankardev, who proclaimed that he was going on a pilgrimage and perhaps allowed so many pilgrims with him that his transport was burdened and his force made immobile or at any rate unwieldy, and he was so foolish as to leave the capital undefended. Malik Kafur, whose movements were swift, gave a slip and reached the capital earlier than Shankardev, who fell in the battle and was killed. This was the end of the Yadav kingdom of Devagiri.

As a result of the sense of security felt by the States in the south, as in the case of France in 1940, the rulers and the ruled were engaged in the enjoyment of pleasures and observance of special amenities and religious orgies. The king, who ruled at the time of the first foreign invasion is described by Dnanadev, a contemporary, and one of the greatest philosophers, and writers in the Marathi language, as a star of the Yadav dynasty and possessor of splendour. The Chief Minister of his dynasty, wrote a voluminous work, describing the social and religious duties enjoined on the Hindus, in the religious texts and treatises. There are more such duties to be performed, and festivities done, than the total days of the year. There are oblations for the manes, which occupied half the days of the year. There is no work for administrative affairs coming from this minister, except a small work describing the manners of addressing people. Fissiparous tendencies, and the fixing of the special orders, brought about by the occupational caste system, so weakened the State as to make it a prey of any invader. First there are the four occupational orders

enjoined by the Hindu religion, which confined the Military forces to a military caste or class, which limited the field from which the army could be recruited. It was not even the standing army and so it was unprogressive and could not adopt new war technique. The Brahmin caste encouraged observances of religious festivities and also propagated belief in Divine Power, which they professed to propitiate, by means of incantations and reciting of names of couplets. The Merchant class was engaged in agriculture, and trade. The people of the last class were kept down and engaged as labourers or menial servants. There were numerous sub-castes, in the above mentioned four classes, which all combined and constituted the foundation of the State. The glamour of religion alone kept the State together but it fell like the walls of Zeyiclo, at the first touch of an invading force.

The entire society was so much disorganised that atrocities as described by historians, were committed by the fanatical foreigners in their zeal for religion, or even to inspire terror among the people, so eventually deranged the people that they became more steeped in superstition and felt no compunction in benefiting naturally to a smaller extent, by following the example of their masters.

The holy book called Gurucharitra, which is the social history of these regions, contains lives of three Gurus-teachers the last of them, being contemporary with the Bijapur dynasty, describes how the conquerers became themselves subject to the superstitious beliefs of the people inhabiting these regions. Probably it was Ali Adil Shah, who being cured of a foul disease, by the Guru, became his devotee. But this fact is avoided by the contemporary Mohammedan historians. The following is another instance. The two lengthy and severe draughts, causing the direst famines, known in the history of the South, resulting in causing distress, gave rise to the belief that it was God who through a devoted officer of Bidar rulers helped people in providing grain to the starving population. This incident is also absent from the history; it is enshrined in the memories and songs of the people.

The Manbhavas and the Jain sects, who not only quarreled among themselves and with the Hindus, tried to undermine the belief of the people in the faiths. The Manbhavas are supposed to have helped the cause of foreigners. This sect professed a secret faith and also their books were written in a secret character. This inspired awe and distrust. It also weakened the administration. The Jains kept themselves aloof from the people confining themselves to trade and the glory of their faith.

The defects described above had shaken so much the people inhabiting the south, that even the new empire of

Vijayanagar fell a prey to them, which brought about its down-fall. But as this is later history, it is not dilated upon here. Ample evidence of its splendour and majesty is described by foreign travellers coming from the west. The Hindu character seems to be static; the defects recur in history.

Limitations of space come in the way of giving quotations from contemporary works by historions, but scholars aquainted with them will find no ground to detract from the point of view here developed and placed before them to study and amplify.

The Origin of Vizayanagar in Kalinga.

BY

SRI SRI SRI RAJA SAHEB, TEKKALI ESTATE.

THE origin of Vizayanagar which is a Zamindari Estate at present in the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Province can be traced to the time when the old Vizayanagar Empire was ruled over by Krishna Deva Raya and Utkala was ruled over by Prathapa Rudra Deo of the Gajapathis. Krishna Deva Raya belonged to the Lunar race of the Kshathrias and was the son of Narasa or Narasinga Deva Raya and his concubine Nagamba (biographies of the Telugu poets by Gurajada Sree Rama Murty). At the time of coronation of Krishna Deva Raya his court poet Dhurjati wrote thus in the book entitled "success of Krishna Deva Raya"

(1) సీ॥ చక్కెర విలుకాని । చక్కదనముగల్గి
చొక్కమౌనార్వేటి । బుక్కరాజు
సాకల్యముగ గీర్తి । సర్వదిక్తటులందుఁ
బ్రాకటస్థితిమించు । నొకువారు
కంటకరాజన్య । గర్వంబులడగించి
లీలచేమించునం । ద్యాలవారు
ధాటీనిరాఘాట । ఘోటీహతవిరోధి
కోటులైవెలయువె । ల్గొటీవారు.

గీ॥ చండతరశౌర్యులగు పెమ్మ । సానివారు
బూదహాళివారు మొదలైన । భూమిపతులు
గొలువఁ బట్టాభిషిక్తుఁడై । చెలువుమీఱె
రమ్యగుణశాలి శ్రీకృష్ణ । రాయమౌళి."

Krishna Deve Raya was crowned king on 4th February 1509 A.D. in spite of the presence of the legitimate son of the previous king. Krishna Deva Raya was both a poet and a warrior. During his reign the Telugu literature developed to a great extent and he was known as the Bhoja of the Andhras (Stone inscription at Hampi Epig. Ind I 366 P.P.) His contemporary was the great king of Orissa Maharaja Prathaparudra Deo Gajapathi who had under his sway the whole of Kalinga and Utkala and a part of Karnatak. He had constructed nine forts at nine places, viz.

Kondapalli, Udayagiri, Bellumukonda, Nagarjunakonda, Konda-veedu, Thangadu, Katavarm, Addanki and appointed officers and soldiers to keep peace and security. (There was a fort in Nelluru. It was called Udayagiri. Though it was in old Vizaynagar Kingdom the Gajapathis, rulers of Katak, annexed it to their kingdom. During the reign of Krishna Deva Rayulu the whole territory between Cuttack and Nelluru was ruled by Prathapa Rudra Deo Gajapathi. Veera Bhadra Patro was guarding Udayagiri Fort with ten thousand soldiers and four thousand horses (biographies of Telugu poets Sree Krishna Deva Raylau 1926, p 50 by D, Seetha Rama Rao). His territory extended in the south as far as Vizayabatika (modern Bezwada) where he had constructed on a hill the fortress of Kanakagiri (there is a statue of Durga Devi here) and where he lived with his Kalinga queen and his son Veera Bhadra Deo. Kalinga of those days which extended from Krishna vani or Krishna to Rushikulya river was ruled over by Ramananda Roy (Mohammadan period P.P. 358 by K.V. Lakshmana Rao) the viceroy, and south of Bezwada was under Veera Bhadra. This territory was left under Veera Bhadra his son, Pusapati Madhava Varma his first son-in-law, and sixteen officers known as Mahapatras (vide biographies of Telugu poets Sree Krishnadeva Raya P. P. 540 by G. Seetha Rama Murty). They were Kayasthas. Their names are Balabhadra Patro, Durga Patro, Bhima Patro, Mukunda Patro, Bhikara Patro, Beera Patro, Rana Ranga Patro, Khadga Patro, Akhandala Patro, Murahari Patro, Bajramusti Patro, Thuragaravantha Patro, Gajankusa Patro, Asahanya Patro, Mrugandra Patro, and Kasava Patro. By these officers and the viceroy and his brother-in-law the administration of the southern part of Prathaparudra's empire was carried on. This queen of Kalinga who was living with her son Veera Bhadra at Kanaka Giri had two daughters the first of whom had been given in marriage to Pusapati Madhva Varma who was also known by the name Rachi Raju. He was of great help to Prathaparudra Deo. He was as great and able a warrior as Krishna Deva Raya himself (Vide P P. 514, 540, and 546 biographies of Telugu poets Sree Krishna Deva Raya by G. Seetha Rama Murtv). Veera-Bhadra Deo was helped by this Pusapati to plunder Vengi which was to the east of the Vizayanagar empire. Krishna Deva Raya was aware of the valour of Pusapati Madhava Varma and he feared him.

Krishna Deva Raya was conscious of his low birth from the womb of a maid servant and was anxious to raise up his social status by marrying in a royal family. His chief minister Thimmarasu was in his confidence. He opened to him his heart. Thimmarasu promised the king that he would see that his master married a royal princess. Once Veera Bhadra Deo was staying in the fort of Venukonda. Thimmarasu went there and asked for an interview with him. The minister was received cordially and taken

with great honour to the Royal court. When the proposal of the marriage of Krishna Deva Raya with Veera Bhadra's younger sister Annapurna Devi was made by the minister, Veera Bhadra said he would give his final word in the matter only after consulting his father Prathapa Rudra and his brother-in-law Pusapati. When consultation was made it was decided that the match was undesirable on account of the low birth of Krishna Deva Raya on the maternal side. This news was sent to the royal court of Vizayanagar. Annapurna Devi was a beautiful damsel. She was well versed in Sanscrit, Oriya and Telugu. She was called by other names, viz Ruchi, Tukha, Jaganmohinee and Varada Raja Jamma. Krishna Deva Raya was desirous of having her as his queen. When he did not get her on peaceful terms, he made up his mind to win her by war. He ordered his army to march on a campaign against the territory of Prathapa Rudra. Thimmarasu was diffident. He knew that the way to Utkala was full of obstacles and therefore the name of the capital was known Bisama Cuttack i.e. the city of obstacles. But Krishna Deva Raya did not mind the advise of his minister and proceeded on his campaign. On the way Veera Bhadra Deo met Krishna Deva Raya with sixty thousand horses and elephants. Krishna Deva Raya was in a fix. He entrusted the whole campaign to Thimmarasu, alias Appagi. At this time Rama Nanda Raya the Viceroy had left Rajhamundry for Cuttack in order to retire from his service as he had become a disciple of Sri Chaitanya. So Veera Bhadra having given the entire of Karnata to Pusapati Madhava Varme, went to Bisama Cuttack along with his mother and sister and all his sixteen vassals. Thimmarasu was waiting for an opportunity. He got sixteen letters written. They were addressed to these sixteen vassals. The contents of each letter were "that the intended treachery of each of the vassals was approved." Each letter was placed in a box full of gold and was despatched so as to be caught by Veera Bhadra Gajapathi. Then the minister began to conquer one by one the forts of Konda, Viti, Venukaonda and others. The intercepted letters were seen by Veera Bhadra. He further learnt that the Vizayanagar army attacked the fortress of Kanaka Giri at Bezwada. He therefore sent immediate message to his father Prathapa Rudra Deo that the sixteen vassals had turned treacherous and the Vizayanagar army had advanced as far as Bezwada. He then imprisoned all the sixteen persons, kept Pusapati at Bisama Cuttack for defence and himself advanced to meet the army of Vizayanagar (the sixteen vassals not being guilty were let off but as they could not bear the blame thrown on them they remained in the vicinity of the river Nagavali). They were of Kayastha race known as Sisti Karnams. Their ancestor's names are adopted as their surnames. Prathapa Rudra started with his army and came as far as the Nagavali River. By that time

Krishna Deva Raya had conquered Bezwada, Madugul, Vaddathi and Veeraghatam. The two armies met on the banks of the Nagavali. The place where the battle was fought was even not known as "Ranastalam." In order to divert the attention of the Utkal army which was thought to be invincible, Krishna Deva Raya sent a part of his army to besiege Bissam Cuttack and capture the princess. But the defending army of Pusapati repulsed the Vizayanagar army and drove them to the borders of Vaddadi and Madugul. When the Utkal soldiers were sleeping at night at Bisam Cuttack fully confident of their safety, Krishna Deva Raya sent some soldiers who set fire to some of the houses outside the fort.

సీ॥ తొలుతొల్త నుదయాద్రి శిలదాకి తీండ్రించు నసిలోహమున వెచ్చనై జనించె
మరికొండవీడెక్కి మార్కొనినవిమైన యలకసవాపాత్రునంటిరాజె
నటసాగిజమ్మిలోయబడివేగ దహించెగోనబితేర్చె గొట్టానదగిలె
గనకగిరిస్ఫూర్తిగరచె గౌతమిగ్రాచె నవులనాపొట్నూరరవులుకొనియె॥

గీ॥ మాడెములుప్రేల్చె నొడ్డాదిమసియొనర్చె. గటకపురిగాల్చె గజరాజుగలగిపరవ
దోకచిచ్చునౌరయుద్ధురతిగృష్ణ రాయబాహుప్రతాపజాగ్రన్మహాగ్ని ॥37॥

చ॥ అభిరతిగృష్ణరాయడుజ యాంకములన్ లిఖియించితాళసన్నిభ
ముగబొట్టునూరికడనిల్పిన కంబముసింహభూధర ప్రభుతిరునా
ళ్ళకున్ దిగుసుర ప్రకరంబుకళింగమేదినీ విభునపకీర్తికజ్జలము
వేమరుబెట్టిపఠించు నిచ్చలున్ ॥38॥మనుచరిత్ర॥

(Note :—The war was to win the princess who was in Bisam Cuttack. There are no stone or metalic inscriptions that Krishna Deva Raya won Cuttack. "Cuttack" mentioned in the verse is Bisam Cuttack but not Cuttack; because it was not mentioned in History that Krishna Deva Raya crossed the rivers Nagavali, Vamsadhara and Rushukulya and that the mighty rulers of Ataghada khamandi and hidisingi were defeated. Pothunuru, where the pillar showing success was constructed is near Bisam Cuttack.) Yet Krishna Deva Raya saw that there was no use of continuing the war. So he sent his minister to Prathapa Rudra to make peace. Thimmarasu approached Prathapa Rudra with his proposals of peace and marriage of the younger princess Varada Raja Jamm with his sister. In return for this matrimonial alliance it was proposed that Krishna Deva Raya would give up the territories which he had conquered in the war. The Royal wedding took place in 1915 A. D.

Note:—*How he married the Gajapathi Princess:* Gajapathi was a very powerful king. He was the master of all the east coast as far south as the Krishna River. Krishna Deva Raya attacked Gajapathi's son and captured all the forts in his possession. He advanced into Kalinga itself. The king of Kalinga lost heart and offered to make peace with the Raya. Krishna Deva Raya generously forgave him and agreed to marry the daughter of Gajapathi. The marriage was celebrated with great splender. After the marriage the Raya gave back to his father-in-law all the places which he had conquered. But the Kalinga Princess did not like the Raya as he was a Dasi Putra. "Krishna Deva Ray" by C.S. Srinivasachary, Chapter 8, Page 10 of 1928.)

Prathapa Rudra gave as wedding gift a large amount of money and a large number of servants, one poet Mukku Thimmanna the author of 'Parujathapaharanam' and the territory extending from the Nagavali to the Godavary. The territory beyond the Krishna River was given away to his eldest daughter and her consort Pusapati Madhava Varma. From that time the territory between the Nagavali and the Godavary was known as Vizayanagar. The younger Princess had known that Krishna Deva Raya was not of Royal progeny. It was also known to her that Krishna Deva Raya had played the trick of making the sixteen vassals disliked by her father. For all these causes she did not like the King of Vizayanagar. She therefore told her husband on the very night of their first meeting not to touch her person. The king was enraged and was going to seize her hand. In this attempt the princess' waist belt which was in the shape of a sword, accidentally fell down and appeared as a sword. Krishna Deva Raya was astonished at it and accused her of treason. But her maid servants told the king that it was natural for a kshtriya lady to be armed with a sword for self-protection. The king at once returned from the chamber and told his old minister Thimmarasu what had happened in the princess, chamber and said that he would kill the princess; but Thimmarasu advised him not to kill her but leave her alone under the protection of her brother Veera Bhadra Devo and, to give her the territory which had been endowed by her father i.e. the country between the Nagavali and the Godavary. The name of the kingdom was installed on a pillar at Potnuru and it was called Vizayanagar Kingdom. The advise of the minister was carried on. Vizayanagar was given to the princess Annapurna who was called Tirumal Devi after her marriage and Krishna Deva Raya went back to old Vizayanagar where he married another princess who was called Chinnama i.e. the younger queen.

Note:— Raya's Marriage with another princess "Krishna Deve Raya" by C.S.Srinivasa Chari Chapter 8 P.P. 12 of 1928.

Tirumal Devi brought up the sonofher brother-in-law Pusapati Madhava Varma and made him as her heir and no adoption was made, as the original ruler was a son of concubine, as such the

royal family was called the Pusapati and the Gajapathi Family. The conutry was called Vizyanagar because it belonged to the king of Vizayanagar. A new fort was built near Kumbhilapur where the queen and the adopted son stayed. The remains of the old fort still exist there and the fort is called the "Mud Fort". She got a large tank dug surrounded by hills in Cuddapah District. It has some inscriptions and the statue of the queen. She got another tank dug near Cumbum.

Poet Mukku Thimmanna or Thimana was a great favourite of Krishna Deva Raya who was himself a great poet. The poet requested his master to visit the temple of Simhachalam. On their way to the temple night fell at Vizayanagar. The king sent Thimmanna to seek a lodging. Thimmanna came back with the news that he was invited by the local queen who was living in a fort with her son. She wanted that they should be their guests that night. The king was not aware of the presence of the first queen and of her bringing up a boy as her heir. Thirumal Devi received him however with great honour and cordialitiy. Except the cunning poet and Thirumal Devi no one in the palace knew anything of the relationship between the hostess and her guest. Thimmanna led the king to the Queen's chamber after dinner. The queen begging the permission of her lord recited the following Sanskrit verses

(1) చరన్వనాంతే నవమంజరీషు నషట్పదో గంధపలీమజిఘ్రిత్
సా కిం నరమ్యాసచ కిం నరంతాబలీయ సకేవల మీశ్వరాజ్ఞా.

(2) మా కింశుక ప్రకట యత్మనిమేషమాత్రం మన్మస్తకే విహరతీతి మధు
వ్రితోయమ్.

(3) భ్రమర భ్రమతాదిగంతరాళే క్వచిదాస్వాది తమీకితం శ్రుతంవా.
వదసత్యమపాస్యపక్షపాతం యది జాతీకుసుమానీ కారిపుష్పం:

(4) కుసుమానిలిఖన్తునామ చిత్రే కతిచిత్కారువిశేషరూఢశిక్షాః
సురభిత్వమమూనికిం లభంతేకిముచ్చై తేషు రసంపిబన్తి భృంఙ్గాః

(5) కిం మాలతీంమ్లా యసిమావిహాయ చుచుంబి తుంబీకుసుమం షడంఘ్రిః,
లోకేచతుర్భిశ్చరణైః పశుస్స్యాత్స్యషడ్భి రత్యర్థ పశుర్నకింస్యాత్.

The poet Krishna Deva Raya was immensely pleased with the poetical talks of his wife. This meeting of the Gold and the Jewel was got about by the poet Thimmanna. Krishna Deva Raya stayed in the fort for some more days before he went to Simhachalam. Both king and queen paid their respects to the diety there. Then the royal couple went to old Vizayanagar where the elder and the younger queens met together and got mutual acquaintence. The king went to Thirupathi with his two queens and there he got three of their statues made in the posture of praying to the diety Thirupathi Balagi or Srinivas. (D. O. No. 126-36/45 dated 11th January 1941 from superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.) " I have to state that the names of the two queens are Chinna Devi Varu on the right and Thirumala Devi Varu on the left of the king's figure." These two queens often went with Krishna Deva Raya on tours. They were highly respected, and were very generous and made gifts to the great temples of the land. In the temple of Thirupathi there is a metal immage of the Raya and the figures of these queens stand on either side of it. ("Krishna Deva Raya" by C. S. Sirinivasachary Chapter 9 P. 14.) హిందుదేశ కథాసంగ్రహము (మహమ్మదీయ యుగము) పీఠికా.

P. XVIII by K. V. Lakshmana Rao.

After the battle of Talikota the Vizayanagar Empire fell down but as a memory of it the new Vizayanagar of Thirumala Devi exists even this day in Kalinga Desa. The present Vizayanagaram fort was constructed in the year 1711 A.D. by Vizayarama Gajapathi. The descendants of the Royal family at Kumbhilapuram became residents of this fort ever since 1711 A. D.

DECCANI URDU AND ITS POETS OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

BY

PROF. DR. K. K. BASU, M. A., PH. D., BHAGALPUR.

LIKE most of his predecessors and in agreement to the spirit of the times when learning and culture reached a high water-mark of excellence in Peninsular India, Ali' Adil' Shah II (1656–1672 A.D.) was a ruler possessed of fine tastes, culture and polish. A great lover of poets and literature, his patronage to the arts worked as a fruit of perennial inspiration to the generation. Though Persian flourished in his court and country, the Deccani Urdu like its prototype, the Northern Urdu, developing out of a close mixture of Persian, Marathi, Kanarese and other languages prevailing in the South and having encouraging response from the Sultan, outshone the Persian and became a very popular and common language of the day. Among the popular and facile writers and poets, who wrote in Deccani Urdu as well as Persian, names may be mentioned of Shah Abul Ma'ani, Mulla Abdur Razzaq called Rifat Oyish (noble existence), Abdul Qadir, Abdul Latif, and Abdul Ghani. Their Qasidahs and other lovely and sublime pieces of verse had won golden opinion of the people. Besides the foregoing poets and writers there were others who had Persian nativity. The most famous among the court poets who infused a new spirit in literature and made a vigorous drive for popularizing Deccani Urdu were Mian Nusrati, Mian Hashmi and Mirza Mir Shah Khawan; these writers were the natives of southern India.

Mian Nusrati, who was related to the ruler of the Carnatic migrated to Bijapur and was made a noble of the court. Of Muhammad Nusrati or Mian Nusrati it has been said by way of metaphor, that "by the help of his own sharp sword of poetic genius he gained conquest over the countries of the poets and thus earned for himself the epithet of *Malik us Shu'ara* or the king of the poets." Fresh in poetical thoughts, of creative and fertile imagination, Nusrati came in the limelight and worked himself into favour with the king. The two famous works of Nusrati that gained unqualified popularity and displayed rare gifts of poetical genius and a wealth of colourful epithets were *Gulshan-e ishq*, the garden of love (a masnavi written in 1657 A.D.,) representing the love episode of Manohar Kunwar and Madhu Malati and *Ali Nama* (a masnavi writen in 1665 A.D.) delineating the victories of 'Ali'Adil Shah, the Sultan, and presenting a

true picture of contemporary events: Besides the two said works the poet composed *Qasidahs* and *Divan-e-ghazal* that are known for their freshness and vivacity in thought and expression.

The use of Deccani Urdu as a vehicle of expression was a topic of discussion among the people of those days. The opponents of Deccani Urdu whose number was infinitesimal regarded it as devoid of any eloquence and warmth and criticised it as dull and trashy. But there were others who were lost in admiration, from extolling and glorifying its beauty and virility. The admirers of Nusrati hardly attached any importance to the form of the poet's writing, on the contrary, they dived deep into the thoughts of the poet and went into raptures. In fact, they went so far as to compare the poems of Nusrati written in Deccani Urdu or Hindi as it was then called, to the Persian poems of the renowned poet Qāni and swept the opposition off the field. In reply to the adverse criticisms of the antagonists Nusrati would say:—

خریدار کون خوب سودی سون کام
نہ دوکان کا دیکھنا سقف و بام

The purchaser should go in for best articles; why should he mind the shop, its roof or its sides?

Here the implication is that one should not attach any importance to outward appearances or forms of poetry but to its internal beauty.

Referring to the merits of his poems that have suffered under the weight of misrepresentation Nusrati has said.

یک یک فن میں کی سحرکی چھند — جیباں کے جیباں کون کیا ہون بند
کہتا ہون سخن مختصر بے گمان — کہ یو شاہ نامہ دکن کا ہے جان

meaning thereby that his poems work like magic and put at rest the sarcasms of the opponents; that in fact, Nusrati's *Shah Nama*, referred to as *Ali Nama* was a great favourite with the people of the Deccan.

Addressing the disgruntled elements that decry one language and wax eloquent over another, the same poet has very truly warned them against blundering on the treacherous sandbanks of lingual preferences. Hardly should we denounce any language, for it was God who had taught language to Adam, and it was under his descendants that the different languages arose and developed.

The lines written by Nusrati in praise of the Almighty are inimitable and well worth a careful thought. He writes.

نظارے میں عارف نظر باز کون   دسیں ہر طرف تیری قدرت کا موں
سکت تجھ ھی دریاکوں ماٹی میں داب یوں   وہ پرنپایا کلکن کا حباب
سبوں کا سمجھ تھک رھا ھے یہاں   کہ یک بدّ بدّی میں بسایا جہاں

Oh ye wise turnst thou thine eyes to the Universe and findest the handiwork of God on all sides. The Omnipotent has put water under the earth and has placed the universe on the bubble!

Story runs that once 'Ali'Adil Shah II was seated in his private quarters and water spouts came out of a fountain close by which gave the appearance of a tree of pearls scattering "nisar" over the Sultan. Out came the following line of verse from him,

آ ژ تا سو یوفوارہ پانی کا کیا نچھل ھے

Behold, how doth the fountain emit spouts of water; Mulla Nusrati who was keeping the company of the Sultan at once gave out,

تجھ شاہ پر آزا ے نی موکا مور چل ھے

Another writer in Hindi, named, Mian Hansi was a disciple of the Holy saint Hazrat Shah Hashim. He gained fame for his eloquent expression, his solid contribution being the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha written in the Deccani Urdu. His Ghazals and other forms of verse were unparalleled and popular. Though born blind his intellect was very keen. Syed Masud Khan, an eminent personage of the court, entertained a genuine and exuberent good-will for the poet. It is said, once when the said Saiyid was seated in his harem he called for the poet, and the ladies fully knowing him to be one who was bereft of vision did not go aside. The poet, however, composed on the spur of the moment an extempore verse describing in detail the features and the characters of the ladies as well as the dresses that they had worn, the fair sexes ran inside in haste thinking that Hansi possessed eye-sight and could spy every thing.

The third poet and writer in Deccani Urdu whose name and activity require an honorable mention was Mirza Marsiya Khwan, who mostly wrote verses in praise of God, the Prophet, the Imams, and Hasan and Hussain and hardly on any worldly affairs. Once Ali" Adil Shah sent for him and requested him to write something in his praise, but was refused on the ground that the poet seldom wrote on mundane affairs. At last, being very much solicited and hard pressed, the poet composed a verse having a double meaning and under the penname of 'Ali' Adil Shah. Again, in a public assembly held at night for the purpose of reciting "Marsiya" or

funeral oration sung during the Muharram in commemoration of Hasan and Hussain, Mirza gave out a hemistich,

دلان پھاکاں افاران کر رکھو سیدم طبق میان

To the wonder of all assembled the poet could not complete the couplet. But in his attempt to complete it he became drowsy when he saw a vision. The Prophet appeared before him and suggested to him the following second hemistich of the marsiya that the poet had composed in the assembly.

نبی آویںگے محشر کوں یہہ تحفہ گھر لیجانا ہے

If thou dost bring this present the Prophet would appear on the Day of Judgement. The fact that the poet Mirza was a man of piety and a beloved of God is proved by the incident of his death happening on the day of Hussain's martyrdom. The said martyr met with his coveted death on the night of the Ashura or the 10th of the first month of Muharram. Mirza had passed the whole of the previous night in reciting marsiya or the funeral oration and on the morning of the Ashura he went out for easing himself and having a wash. One of his enemies who cherished a bitter memory of strained relation found an opportunity and having picked up an altercation stabbed him to death. In a public proclamation Sultan 'Ali' Adil Shah ordered the citizens to take out the banners and *Taziyas* by the Ibrahimpur gate called the Fateh Darwazah. In obedience to the royal order the people took out their procession and on its rear was carried the body of Mirza. The body of the poet was interred in the Mausoleum of Hazrat Shah Murtaza Qadri.

تاریخ سمستان گدوال کے چند رُخ

از ایچ گنڈے راؤ۔ داچپیتی ناظم عدالت ضلع سمستان گدوال

سمستان گدوال ریاست حیدرآباد کے جنوبی حصہ میں جس کو رائچور دوآب کہتے ہیں دریائے کرشنا اور تنگ بھدرا کے درمیان واقع ہے۔ بموجب رپورٹ جمعبندی بندوبست مُرتبۂ محکمۂ بندوبست سرکار عالی اس علاقہ سمستان کا طول شمال اور جنوب (۲۸ ½) میل عرض مشرق اور مغرب (۲۲ ½) میل ہے اور رقبہ (۶۳۴) مربع میل ہے۔ سمندر سے اس کی بلندی (۱۰۶۱) فٹ ہے۔ مستقر گدوال سکندرآباد اور ڈورنہ چلیم لین پر واقع ہے اور گدوال کے علاقہ میں تین ریلوے اسٹیشن ہیں۔ اس علاقہ میں مجموعی طور پر مواضعات امد مزرعہ وغیرہ (۲۱۶) ہیں۔ سمستان کی مردم شماری (۱۲۰۰۰۰) ہے۔ اس علاقہ کی پختہ پیمائش سال ۱۳۴۳ف (۱۹۳۴ع) میں ختم ہوئی۔ یہ سمستان بہت قدیم ہے اس کی ابتداء کب اور کس طرح سے ہوئی اس کا صحیح اندازہ نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ روایات مختلف ہیں۔ موثق داخلہ جات جن پر پورا اعتماد کیا

جا سکے بہت کم ہیں اور جو دستیاب ہوئے اُن میں بھی اختلافات ہیں۔
پنجاب کے گورنر سر مالکم ہیلے Sir Malcolm Haily نے تاریخ گدوال سے
متعلق جو خیال ظاہر کیا ہے وہ انہیں کے الفاظ میں درج ذیل کیا جاتا ہے:-

Gadwal "knew all too little about its own History. The elements which have been built up into the Gadwal of to-day were very diverse in origin and almost keleidoscopic in their development and it may be said that it had no great wealth of sound material on which to base a reliable record or origin.

بریں ہم بلحاظ مواد فراہم شدہ یقین کے ساتھ کہا جائیگا کہ والیان
سمستان گدوال کے خاندان کا مورث اعلیٰ تیرہویں صدی عیسوی کے وسط میں
گذرا ہے۔

اس سمستان کی تاریخ کے مستند ماخذ میرے خیال میں پانچ ہیں۔
(۱) کتبے۔ (۲) تصانیف (۳) رواجات مقامی۔ (۴) اسنادات۔
(۵) داخلہ جات مقامی۔

ان سب میں مقدم کتبے ہیں۔ گو کہ اس سمستان میں اور قرب و
جوار کے مختلف مقامات میں کتبے موجود ہیں۔ مگر ان سے گدوال کی تاریخی تحقیق
میں بہت کم مدد ملتی ہے وہ زیادہ تر سیاسی تاریخ اور تاریخ مذاہب ممالک آندھرا
سے متعلق ہیں۔ کتبے ایسے ہیں کہ جن سے واقعی طور پر گدوال کی تاریخ کی تحقیق
میں مدد ملتی ہے اور وہ یہ ہیں۔

(۱) کتبہ جو رائچور کے قلعہ میں اس وقت موجود ہے (۲) ملیالہ کو میبا کا
بودھ پور کا کتبہ (۳) موضع ایجہ کے ہنومان کے دیول کے عقبی باؤلی میں نصب شدہ کتبہ۔

ان سے واضح طور پر معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سلطنت ورنگل کے مہاراجہ کاکتی پرتاب رُدّور کے عہد حکومت میں سمستان گدوال کی بنیاد اولین ۱۲۹۰ء میں قائم ہوئی

۲۔ تصنیفات مقامی کنداليا چاری کوسک گوتری ساکن بوروی کی تصنیف سنسکرت النکار سرو بھوشنم ۔

کانادم بدنا سومیاجی ساکن گدوال کی تصنیفات تلنگی۔ کمندو یلاس میں اس علاقہ کے راجہ یان سلف کے خاندان فتوحات و سخاوت وغیرہ کا ذکر آیا ہے ۔ یہ تصنیفات مقامی نہایت مستند ہیں ۔ ان کے علاوہ آندھرا کی کتاب رنگناتھ رامائن میں بھی خاندان والیان گدوال کا ذکر ہے ۔

۳۔ کیفیت گدوال جو مدراس کے گورنمنٹ اورنٹیل مینوسکرپٹ لائبریری میں موجود ہے ۔ اُن سے بھی تاریخ کی تحقیق میں بہت مدد ملتی ہے گو کہ دیگر ذرایع میں اور ان کیفیات میں کسی قدر اختلاف بھی پایا جاتا ہے ۔

۴۔ اسناد معطیہ شہنشاہ دہلی و سلطنت آصفیہ وغیرہ ۔

۵۔ داخلہ جات مقامی ۔

گدوال کے راج پروہت یعنے والی سمستان کے خاندانی مرشد کے پاس ایک قلمی ذخیرہ قدیم موجود ہے ۔ اس سے والیان سلف کا تعلق سلطنت وجیانگر ۔ بیجاپور ۔ حیدرآباد اور نوابان کرنول سے ہونا ظاہر ہوتا ہے

اس سمستان کا تعلق اولاً سلطنت مغربی چالوکیہ سے اور اُس کے زوال کے بعد کچھ عرصہ تک حکومت تلگو چوڑ سے اور اخیر میں ورنگل کی سلطنت کاکتی سے رہا ہے ۔ اس سمستان میں سب سے زیادہ قدیم اور تاریخی نقطۂ نگاہ سے اہم ترین موضع پوڑوڑ ہے ۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ نویں صدی

میں پوڑور کی بہت بڑی شہرت تھی اور پوڑور چھوٹے پیمانے میں ایک حد تک بادامی (واتاپی) کے مماثل ہے۔ اس لیے یہ مورخان تاریخ کے لیے بہترین مقام ہے۔ اس میں مذہب جین کا زوال اور مذہب شیو کا عروج اور آخر میں مذہب وِشنو کا آغاز ایسے تین مختلف انقلابات نمایاں طور پر پائے جاتے ہیں۔ یہاں کیشوسوامی کا (وشنو مورتی کا) ایک دیول ہے۔ اس دیول کے اوپر کوئی گوپرم یا مینارہ نہیں ہے۔ اس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ جدید دیول ہے۔ اور ابتک نامکمل حالت میں ہے۔ اس دیول کے صدر دروازے کی سنگین چوکھٹ نہایت خوبصورت اور قدیم چالوکیہ سلطنت کے طرزِ سنگتراشی کا مظہر ہے۔ مقامی روایت یہ ہے کہ کھیت میں ناگر چلاتے وقت یہ زمین سے برآمد ہوا۔ اس سے بھی اس دیول کی جدید تعمیر کا اندازہ ہوتا ہے۔

معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہاں سابق میں ایک بڑا قلعہ تھا۔ اب صرف بیرونی دیوار کی نشانی باقی رہگئی ہے۔ قلعہ کے اس دیوار کے قریب بلکارجن سوامی کا (شیو مذہب کا) ایک دیول ہے۔ یہاں کے ایک کتبہ سے واضح ہے کہ اس کا قدیم نام پُنڈراپُر تھا۔ کتبہ میں الفاظ بزبان سنسکرت पुण्ड्र नगरि کندہ ہیں۔ اس دیول کے قریب چند جین مذہب کے تیر تھنکار کی مورتیاں ہیں۔ وہاں سے کسی قدر فاصلہ پر ایک دیول ہے جو ویرا بھدرا سوامی کے نام سے مشہور ہے۔ اس دیول کی ساخت بالکلیہ جین مذہب کے طریقہ پر ہے۔ اس دیول میں ایک شیولنگ اور ویر بھدرا مورت دونوں موجود ہیں۔ اس سے صاف واضح ہے کہ سابق میں یہ دیول کسی جین مورت سے تعلق رکھتا تھا۔ تاریخ شاہد ہے کہ بارہویں صدی میں فرقہ جین اور شیو میں بہت بڑی مخالفت تھی اور جنگ وجدل بھی ہوئے

تھے ۔ بالآخر جین مذہب کا پورا زوال ہوا۔ اور اُن کے مستند مذہبی کتب ضایع کر دیے گئے۔ اور شیو مذہب کا عروج ہوا۔ بوڑورھی ایک مقام ان مشہور تاریخی مقامات میں سے ہے جہاں ان دونوں فرقہ جات میں ایک بڑے پیمانہ پر مقابلہ ہوا تھا۔ اس کے دلائل حسبِ ذیل ہیں :۔

(۱) دیول ملکارجن کے متصل جو فرقہ جین کی مورتیاں پائی جاتی ہیں اُن میں پارشوا ناتھ کی ایک مورت اور دو ترتھنکر کی مورتیاں واضح طور پر ظاہر ہوتی ہیں۔

(۲) اس دیول سے تھوڑے فاصلہ پر ایک کتبہ پڑا ہوا ہے اس کے بغور دیکھنے سے واضح ہے کہ وہ مہاراجہ چالوکیہ وِکرم سلطنت کلیانی کے جلوس ۱۲ سنہ میں تیار ہوا ہے نہ اس کتبہ میں عام طور پر جنا کی اور حالت مراقبہ میں بیٹھے ہوئے مورت کی مدح اور پلوراج کے تعمیر کردہ جین مندر کے تفصیلی واقعات موجود ہیں۔ پندرا پور (پوڑور) کے قلعہ اور پنڈت کاتچن سین متعلقہ ڈراوڑ سنگھم کا بھی تذکرہ ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ نویں اور دسویں صدیوں کے درمیان یہاں تمدن جین بہت بڑے پیمانہ پر قائم تھا۔ قدیم مذہب جین کی تاریخی کتب سے اس کی مطابقت ہونی ضروری ہے۔

(۳) دیول ویربھدرا کے جانب شمال مین دھرم شالہ ہے۔ اس کی دیواریں بالکل معمولی پتھروں کی ہیں۔ مگر درمیان میں بعض جگہ بہترین تراشیدہ منقش پتھروں کے ٹکڑے چسپیدہ ہیں۔ اس سے واضح ہے کہ وہ کسی دوسری

بڑی عمارت منہدمہ کے ٹکڑے ہیں۔ اس دھرم سالہ کے اندر دیوار میں ایک پتھر نصب شدہ ہے۔ اس میں شیولنگ اور جین کی دونوں مورتیاں موجود ہیں۔ ان کے نیچے چند اشکال ہیں جن سے صاف طور پر واضح ہے کہ وہ کسی جنگ مابین شیوا اور جین کے واقعات کی تفصیل ظاہر کر رہے ہیں۔ اس نقشہ کی صحیح تعبیر دقت سے خالی نہیں۔ بریں ہم بلحاظ حالات ظاہر شدہ یہ ضرور کہا جائیگا کہ فرقہ جین کی شکست اور فرقۂ شیو کی فتح کی یادگار میں یہ نصب کیا گیا ہے۔

(۴) آبادی اور قلعہ سے کسی قدر فاصلہ پر جنوب مشرق کے درمیان ایک گنپتی کی دیول ہے۔ مورت بیٹھی ہوئی ہے مگر قد انسان سے اونچا ہے۔ میرے خیال میں مذہب جین کے زوال کے بعد جب شیو مذہب کی بنا قائم ہوئی اُس وقت اس دیول کی تعمیر ہوئی ہوگی۔ آندھرا ملک میں گنپتی کی مورت بالعموم ایسی ہوتی ہے۔ یہ مورت بھی اسی وضع کی ہے۔ یہاں اور بھی کتبے موجود ہیں۔ جن کا پوری طرح پتہ چلانا اور ان کو حل کرنا ایک انفرادی کوشش سے بعید ہے۔ دانشوران دشوار پسند اور مورخان پایۂ بلند سے میں یہ التجا کرتا ہوں کہ اس نہایت قدیم اور اہم ترین مگر فراموش کردہ آبادی پوڑور کی طرف خاص توجہ فرمادیں اس سے نہ صرف گدوال بلکہ سارے آندھرا ملک کی سیاسی تاریخ

اور مذہبی تاریخ پر نئی روشنی پڑے گی۔ میرے ناقص خیال میں پوڑور میں احتفار (کھدائی) کی بھی ضرورت ہے۔ یقین ہے کہ اس سے جدید اور بیش قیمتی معلومات حاصل ہونگے۔

ایجہ۔ جس طرح پوڑور اپنی قدامت کی اور مذہبی تاریخی مقام ہونیکی وجہ سے ایک خاص شہرت رکھتا ہے۔ اسی طرح قصبۂ ایجہ سیاسی حیثیت سے خصوصیت رکھتا ہے۔ والیان سمستان گدوال کا قدیم مورثِ اعلیٰ گونی بڈھا ریڈی اسی قصبہ کا متوطن تھا۔ سال ۱۲۹۱ء میں ورنگل کے مہاراجہ پرتاب رُدرہ نے ایجہ وغیرہ سات علاقہ جات کی حکومت ناڈگوڑی اس بڈھا ریڈی کو سرفراز کی۔ اس لیے اب تک اس خاندان میں ایجہ ناڈگوڑ کا لقب جاری ہے۔ ایجہ میں تین قدیم دیول میں وشیو کے دو اور ایک ہنومان کا۔ ہنومان کے دیول کے عقب میں ایک بڑی باؤلی ہے اس کی دیوار میں ایک کتبہ کا کچھ حصہ چسپیدہ ہے۔ اس میں کاکتی پرتاپ رُدر کا نام کندہ ہے۔ اسناد اور دیگر کیفیات سے جو واقعات ظاہر ہوئے ہیں ان کی تصدیق اس پتھر سے ہوتی ہے۔ پس بلا خوفِ تردید یہ کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ سمستان گدوال کی بناء سلطنت ورنگل کے مہاراجہ کاکتی پرتاپ رُدر کے زمانہ میں قائم ہوئی۔ ایجہ میں ایک قلعہ تھا اُس کی کچھ دیواریں رہ گئی ہیں۔

ولور۔ ممالک آندھرا کی مختلف تواریخ سے یہ ثابت ہے کہ ریاست آندھرا چول کی حکومت کا پایہ تخت ولور تھا۔ کاکتی گنپتی دیوراج کے زمانہ میں ان کا ایک باج گذار راجہ گنگیا ساہنی نامی ولور میں سکونت پذیر تھا۔ مہاراجہ پرتاب رُدر کے زمانے میں بھی ایک خراج بردار راجہ تری پور آنتک نامی ولور میں رہتا تھا۔ مخفی مبادکہ یہ وہی مشہور ولور ہے

جواب علاقہ سمستان گدوال میں ہے۔ یہاں ایک قدیم دیول ہے۔ یہ دیول دیوی کی معلوم ہوتی ہے۔ مگر اس وقت گوپال سوامی وشنو کی مورت یہاں ہے۔ یہاں ایک کتبہ بزبان سنسکرت موجود ہے۔ اس لحاظ سے دلور بھی تاریخ مذاہب ملک آندھرا میں خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔

بوروپلی۔ سابق میں ایک چھوٹا مگر مستقل سمستان تھا۔ یہاں راجہ وبحٹ راج کے زمانہ میں کندالیا چارلو نامی ایک بہت بڑے پنڈت گذرے ہیں۔ اُنھوں نے النکار سروبھوشنم نامی ایک کتاب سنسکرت میں فن معانی پر لکھی ہے۔ یہ کتاب فن معانی میں نہایت مستند اور سارے ہندوستان میں شہرت رکھتی ہے۔ اٹھارہویں صدی کے وسط میں بوروپلی گدوال میں داخل ہوا۔

راجولی۔ یہ دریائے تنگبھدرا کے کنارے واقع ہے۔ یہاں ایک مضبوط قلعہ ہے۔ ایوان شاہی کے بعض حصص نمایاں طور پر اب تک نظر آتے ہیں۔ روایت یہ ہے کہ گدوال کا موجودہ ایوان شاہی اسی نمونہ پر تعمیر کیا گیا ہے۔ قلعہ کے اندر وینکٹ نارائن سوامی کا ایک دیول پختہ اور خوبصورت واقع ہے۔ آبادی سے اندازاً ڈیڑھ میل کے فاصلہ پر جانب غرب ندی کے کنارے ایک نہایت قدیم اور خوبصورت شیوجی کا دیول ہے اس کو رام لنگا سوامی کا دیول کہتے ہیں۔ یہاں ایک کتبہ ہے۔ اس سے واضح ہے کہ وہ کتبہ سلطنت چالوکیہ کے مہاراج بھولوکیملائے کے زمانہ کا ہے۔ مگر دیول تو اس سے بھی قدیم پایا جاتا ہے۔ भूलोकमल्ल

اوتنور۔ یہ ایک چھوٹا موضع ہے۔ مگر بڑی شہرت رکھتا ہے فلسفہ ویدانت (ہمہ از وست) کے بہت بڑے بزرگ گوپال داس عرف بھاگن داس یہاں کے متوطن تھے۔ انھوں نے زبان کنڑی میں نہایت سلیس اور عام فہم گیتوں میں دقیق فلسفی اصول ظاہر کیے ہیں۔ کنڑی زبان میں ان کی

تصنیفات کی خاص طور پر قدر کی جاتی ہے - ان کا کلام داس لٹریچر میں شریک ہے - ان کا زمانہ اندازاً سنہ ۱۷۲۲ء سے سنہ ۱۷۵۲ء تک پایا جاتا ہے ان کے نام کی ایک باؤلی ہے - اس کی نسبت بہت سی مقامی روایات مشہور ہیں -

گنجنرلہ - ایک چھوٹا موضع ہے - آبادی کے باہر کسی قدر فاصلہ پر ایک گھوڑے سوار کی مورت پتھر کی نصب کی گئی ہے - اس کے قریب ایک پتھر ہے - اس کے تین طرف مختلف کتبہ جات ہیں - ان میں سے دو کتبے پڑھے جاتے ہیں اور یہ دونوں سلطنت کلیانی کے مہاراجہ تری بھون مل کے زمانے کے پائے جاتے ہیں -

دھرور - یہ ایک بہت قدیم آبادی ہے - بڈاریڈی کو ابتدا میں ایجہ وغیرہ سات علاقہ جات کی ناڈگوڑی مہاراجہ ورنگل نے سرفراز کی تھی - ان سات علاقہ جات میں دھرور بھی ایک علاقہ ہے - یہاں ایک چھوٹا ہنوماں کا دیول ہے - اس کی شہرت یہ ہے کہ پندرہویں صدی کے وسط میں وجیانگر کے مہاراجگان اس مورت کو اپنی کل دیوت تصور کرتے تھے - یہ دیول مشہور پنڈت ژور سوامی دیاس تیرتھ کی قائم کردہ ہونا مقامی روایات سے واضح ہے -

مخفی مبادکہ سوم بھوپال نے بخلاف سلطنت بیجاپور شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب کی امداد کے لیے فوج روانہ کی تھی - اس لیے سلطان بیجاپور نے کچھ فوج گدوال کے محاصرہ کے لیے روانہ کی - اسی دھرور کے مقام پر جنگ ہوئی جس میں بیجاپور کی فوج کو شکست ہوئی - ایک بہت بڑا سبز رنگ کا علم اور ایک نقارہ فتح کی یادگار کے طور پر گدوال کی فوج نے اپنے قبضہ میں لے لیا -

وہ ابتک قلعہ گدوال میں موجود ہے۔ یہاں ایک قلعہ تھا۔ اس کے صدر دروازہ پر گنپتی کی مورت تھی۔ وہ علاقہ مہاراشٹرا کی تیار کردہ معلوم ہوتی تھی۔ یہ دروازہ بھی حال میں منہدم ہو چکا ہے۔ روایت یہ ہے کہ زمانہ دو عملی میں دربار پیشوا کے سفیر یہاں کے قلعہ میں رہتے تھے۔

اننتا پور۔ اب ایک چھوٹا موضع ہے۔ مگر زمانہ سلف میں اس کی بڑی شہرت تھی۔ یہ تجارتی مرکز تھا۔ یہاں ایک بہت بڑی عمارت قدیم وضع کی موجود ہے۔ اس عمارت کے چاروں طرف نہایت کشادہ قدیم بہترین سڑکیں موجود ہیں۔ ہندوستان میں جب سے کہ ریلوے کمپنیاں قائم ہوئیں اس وقت سے یہ تجارت موقوف ہوئی۔

بیچپلی۔ یہ ایک چھوٹا خوشنما اور محفوظ اور مامون مقام ہے۔ یہاں ایک بہت بڑا دیول ہنومان کا ہے جو دریائے کرشنا کے بالکل کنارے ہے۔ ریاضت کے لیے یہ ایک بہترین مقام ہے۔ یہاں سے قریب کرشنا کی دو شاخیں ہوگئی ہیں۔ درمیان میں ایک چھوٹا سا جزیرہ ہے۔ وہاں ایک قلعہ ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ سابق میں بہت اچھی حالت میں تھا۔ یہ نہایت خوش منظر ہے۔

گدوال عُرف کیشونگر یہ اس سمستان کا پایۂ تخت ہے۔ یہاں ایک مضبوط قلعہ ہے۔ کیشو سوامی کا دیول سوم بھوپال اوّل کا تعمیر کردہ ہے۔ اس قلعہ کی تعمیر ۱۶۹۹ء اور ۱۷۰۹ء کے درمیان ہوئی۔ یہاں قدیم وضع کا ایوان شاہی ہے۔ اس کے ہر ایک حصہ کے علحدہ علحدہ نام مروج ہیں۔ راجایان سلف کی

قلمی تصاویر اچھی حالت میں موجود ہیں۔ یہاں ایک بہت بڑی پچر یسی توپ ہے۔ اس کا طول (۳۰) فٹ ہے۔ بیجاپور کی فوج کو شکست دیکر جو علم برنگ سبز اور نقارے میدان جنگ سے لائے گئے وہ اسی قلعہ میں اب تک موجود ہیں۔ ایک اور امر قابلِ ذکر یہ ہے کہ حال میں یعنے راجہ رام بھوپال کے زمانہ میں جبکہ آبادی گدوال میں ایک خاص مقام امین کچہری کی تعمیر کے لیے منتخب کیا گیا۔ اور بنیاد کی کھدوائی کا کام آغاز ہوا تو اس وقت ایک بڑا دیول شیوجی کا زمین میں سے برآمد ہوا۔ اب تک دیول کا پورا حصہ اوپر نہیں آیا ہے۔ مورت کی شکل عالم پور کی مورتوں کے مماثل پائی جاتی ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ جب کہ سوم بھوپال اول نے پایہ تخت لپوڑور سے بدل کر ایک وسیع میدان میں قلعہ کی تعمیر آغاز کی اور گدوال کی آبادی کی بنا ڈالی، اس کے پہلے ہی یعنی سنہ ۱۶۶۳ء میں یہ دیول امتداد زمانہ کی وجہ سے زمین کی تہ میں مخفی ہوگیا تھا۔ اس سے بھی اس ملک کی قدامت کا اندازہ کیا جا سکتا ہے۔

مہاراج کاکتی پرتاب رودر سلطنت ورنگل نے ایج کے بڈھا ریڈی کو سنہ ۱۲۹۰ء میں رائچور دواب کا جنگل صاف کر کے قابلِ زراعت بنانے کے صلہ میں ایج رائچور وغیرہ (۷) علاقہ جات پر حقوق ناڈگوری عطا کیے۔ اس لیے بڈھا ریڈی کا خاندان ایج ناڈگوڑ کے نام سے مشہور ہے۔ سنہ ۱۳۲۳ء میں سلطنت کاکتیا کا زوال ہوا اس کے بعد ایج ناڈگوڑ نے اپنا مقام ترک کر کے گوسنور انتاپور وغیرہ علاقہ کرنول کے حکمران کے

پاس جو خاندان وڑم سے تھے پناہ گزیں ہوئے۔ ۱۳۴۶ء میں سلطنت وجیانگر کے مہاراج ہری ہر کی مدد ایک جنگ میں بڑا ریڈی نے کی اور اس کے صلہ میں علاقہ کرنول کے چند مواضعات کی ناڑگوڑی کے حقوق حاصل کیے ۱۳۴۷ء میں بہمنی سلطنت کا عروج ہوا۔ اسوقت ایج ناڑگوڑ سلطنت بہمنی کے ماتحت ہوئے۔ ۱۴۸۹ء میں سلطنت بیجاپور کا عروج ہوا۔ رائچور دواب بیجاپور کے زیر حکومت رہا۔ اسلیے ایج ناڑگوڑ بھی سلطنت بیجاپور کے ماتحت ہوئے مگر حکومت بیجاپور نے راجہ ہری ہر کے عطا کردہ کرنول کے علاقہ جات کی ناڑگوڑگی وغیرہ ضبط کر لی۔ سولہویں صدی کے وسط میں رائچور دواب پر سلطنت وجیانگر نے کامل حکومت حاصل کی اس لیے ایج ناڑگوڑ بھی سلطنت وجیانگر کے ساتھ رہے۔

۱۵۶۴ء میں سلطنت وجیانگر کا زوال ہوا۔ اس لیے لازمی طور ایج ناڑگوڑ حسب سابق بیجاپور کے باج گذار ہو گئے۔ اس درمیان میں ایج ناڑگوڑ کے خاندان میں پداویا ریڈی ایک شخص بہت بڑا مشہور گذرا ہے۔ جس کا فرزند پدا ریڈی تھا۔

شاہنشاہ اورنگ زیب نے جب بیجاپور پر چڑھائی کی اس وقت والئی سمستان نے فوجی امداد کی۔ اس کے صلہ میں شاہان مغلیہ نے نہ صرف اس سمستان کے قدیم حقوق ناڑگوڑی تسلیم و جاری رکھے بلکہ اس سے اعلیٰ تر حقوق سر ناڑگوڑ وغیرہ عطا فرمائے اور راجہ کا خطاب بھی بخشا۔

سوبھنا دری نے ۱۶۸۷ء میں اپنی خود مختاری کا اعلان کیا اور سکہ گدوال چلایا۔ اور اس کے بعد بیگن پلی۔ سیل گڈہ۔ نندیال۔ ہوہ تلی۔ آدھونی وغیرہ علاقہ جات پر فتحیابی حاصل کی۔ اس کے زمانے میں اس سمستان کی

وسعت بہت بڑھ گئی۔ انھوں نے پو ڈور کے پرانے قلعہ کو ناکارہ تصور کر کے کیشونگر عرف گدوال کی جدید بنا ڈالی ۱۶۹۹ء سے ۱۷۰۴ء کے درمیان ایک مستحکم قلعہ اور کیشو سوامی کے دیول کی تعمیر کی۔ ۱۷۰۹ء و ۱۷۱۲ء تک کرنول کا قلعہ بھی سوبھنا دری یا سوم بھوپال اول کے قبضہ میں تھا۔ اپنے مذہب کا پکا معتقد اور باخدا تھا۔ اپنی ساری دولت و حکومت سری کیشو سوامی کی نذر کر کے بطور نائب کاروبار انجام دیتا تھا۔ سوم بھوپال اول کے بعد اس کا فرزند ترمل راؤ نابالغ ہونے کی وجہ سے اس زمانے کے متولیان ریاست دینکنا اور رمنیا بہ زیر نگرانی بیوگان رانی امکا اور لنگما کاروبار چلاتے تھے۔ رانی لنگما کی غربا پروری اور سخاوت کی بہت بڑی شہرت تھی۔ اس لیے دور دور کے لوگ گدوال آ کر سکونت اختیار کرنے لگے۔ ۱۷۲۳ء میں سلطنت آصفیہ نے اپنی خود مختاری کا اعلان کیا۔ اس زمانے میں رانی لنگما اور کرنول کے نوابوں میں سخت مخالفت تھی۔ اس لیے رانی نے نہایت دور اندیشی سے سلطنت آصفیہ کی ماتحتی قبول کی۔ ترمل راؤ کی حکومت امن سے گذری۔ ترمل راؤ کے بعد اس کا بھائی رام راؤ تخت نشین ہوا۔ جس کا زمانہ (۱۷۴۶ء ۱۷۶۱) ہے۔

۱۷۴۶ء میں رام راؤ نے کرنول کا قلعہ مکرر اپنے قبضہ میں لیا اور حقوق ناڑگوڑ سرناڑگوڑ اور سرسرناڑگوڑ وغیرہ حسب سابق حاصل کیے۔ اس نے ۱۷۵۲ء میں کرنول کا قلعہ سلطنت آصفیہ کے حوالہ کر دیا۔ اس کے بعد رن مست خاں نے کرنول پر چڑھائی کی اور قبضہ حاصل کیا۔ رام راؤ نے علاقہ کرنول کے (۱۹) جدید قصبات پر ناڑگوڑگی حاصل کی۔ رام راؤ کا انتقال ۱۷۶۱ء میں ہوا۔ اس کے بعد ترمل راؤ کا فرزند سوم بھوپال ثانی تخت نشین

ہوا۔ یہ راجہ نہایت دلیر شجیع دور اندیش اور علم دوست تھا۔ اس نے اپنے چچا کے عہد حکومت میں بھی ریاست حیدر آباد سے اپنی شجاعت کے صلہ میں دو ہزار روپیہ انعام حاصل کیا تھا۔ نواب صلابت جنگ آصفجاہ نے سوم بھوپال ثانی کو آدھونی اور کرنول کے (۱۹) مُحال پرناڈگوڑگی وغیرہ عطا کی۔ گدوال سمستان کی سب سے بڑی وسعت ان ہی کے عہد حکومت میں ہوئی تھی۔ اُنھوں نے اپنی شجاعت سے سمستان امرچنتہ کے چند مواضعات اور سمستان راجولی پر قبضہ حاصل کیا۔ اسی زمانے میں پیشوائے پونہ کا بہت بڑا عروج ہوا۔ سلطنت آصفیہ سے بھی وہ چوتھ وصول کرتے تھے۔ یہ زمانہ تاریخی اصطلاح میں دوعملی کا زمانہ کہلاتا ہے۔ اس لیے سوم بھوپال نے بھی مرہٹوں کو چوتھ کے علاوہ کھنڈنی بھی ادا کی۔ بینڈر شور اپور کے محاصرہ میں اس نے فوج کے ساتھ سلطنت آصفیہ کی مدد کی۔ اس کا انتقال ۱۷۹۴ء میں ہوا۔

سوم بھوپال ثانی بہت بڑا نکتہ سنج اور علم دوست تھا۔ جس طرح دھار کے مہاراج بھوج کے دربار میں سنسکرت کے شاعر نورتن تھے۔ اور جس طرح کہ مہاراج کرشنا دیوراج وجیانگر کے پاس بہترین تلنگی شاعر نورتن تھے، اسی طرح سوم بھوپال کے دربار میں بھی بہترین شاعر نورتن تھے۔ ان تمام میں پدنا سومناجی بہت بڑی قابلیت رکھتا تھا۔ اس کے تصنیفات میں کمند ویلاس آندھرا شاعری کا بہترین نمونہ ہے۔ سوم بھوپال ثانی کے بعد رام راؤ ثانی تخت پر بیٹھا۔ اس کا زمانہ ۱۷۹۴ء تا ۱۸۰۶ء رہا۔ ۱۸۰۱ء میں دربار آصفیہ سے اُنھوں نے راجہ بھوپال وغیرہ کے

خطابات اور خلعت وغیرہ حاصل کیے۔ اس کے بعد سیتارام بھوپال اولیٰ تخت نشین ہوا۔ اس کا زمانہ ۱۸۰۰ء سے ۱۸۴۰ء تک ہے۔ اس کے بعد ۱۸۳۸ء میں بیوہ رانی وینکٹ لچھما نے سوم بھوپال ثانی کو تبنیٰ کیا۔ یہ حد درجہ کا عیاش تھا۔ اس لیے رعایا سے اس کا سلوک اچھا نہ تھا۔ بالآخر بتاریخ ۳۰ ، جون ۱۸۴۰ء یہ دربار میں قتل کر دیا گیا۔ اس وقت اس کو متبنیٰ کرنے والی رانی وینکٹ لچھما نے عنان حکومت اپنے ہاتھ میں لی اور بڑی شان سے راج کے کاروبار چلائے۔ ۱۸۴۵ء میں اپنے ایک رشتہ دار کو متبنیٰ کیا۔ اور اس کا نام رام بھوپال رکھا۔ رانی نے اس زمانے کے لحاظ سے رام بھوپال کو بہترین تعلیم دلائی۔ رام بھوپال کے عہدِ حکومت میں گدوال نے ہمہ پہلو ترقی کی۔ مالی حالت بہت اچھی تھی۔ اندرونی انتظامات بہترین تھے۔ اس کے بعد سیتارام بھوپال ثانی فرزند متبنیٰ ۱۹۰۱ء میں تخت نشین ہوئے۔ دربار آصفیہ سے اُن کو مہاراجہ کا خطاب عطا ہوا۔ ان کے عہدِ حکومت میں گدوال کی شہرت نہ صرف دکن بلکہ سارے ہندوستان میں رہی۔ ۱۹۱۲ء میں دلی دربار میں ان کو خاص اعزاز و وقار عطا ہوئے۔ ان کی فیاضی کی کوئی حد ہی نہ تھی ان کی سخاوت مشہور عالم ہے۔ انھوں نے کم سنی میں بتاریخ ۱۲ مئی ۱۹۲۴ء بگذاشت مہارانی آدی لکشمی دیوما صاحبہ اور نیز دو دختران نیک اختر ورلکشمی دیوما اور سری لکشمی دیوما جہان فانی سے رحلت کی۔

بعد انتقال مہاراجہ سیتارام بھوپال کچھ عرصہ تک سمستان پر

کورٹ آف وارڈز کی نگرانی قائم رہی۔ اس کے بعد بذریعہ فرمان مبارک مزینہ ۲۶، شعبان ۱۳۴۶ھ نگرانی برخاست فرمائی گئی۔ اور عنانِ حکومت علیہ جنابہ مہارانی آدی لکشمی دیوما صاحبہ دام اقبالہا کے مبارک ہاتھ آئی۔ جو آج کل ریاست کی ترقی کے لیے ہر ممکن کوشش فرما رہی ہیں۔

POSITION OF THE HINDUS IN THE ADILSHAHI KINGDOM OF BIJAPUR

BY

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THE Marathas were to the Adilshahi Sultanate what the Rajputs were to the Mughal Empire. Their loyal support was essential for the existence of the kingdom. The 'Adilshahs recognised this vital fact. Even before the Mughal Empire was founded in the north, we find Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur marrying a Maratha lady.[1] In later years a similar policy was followed with great success by Akbar. But the credit for appreciating its potentialities goes to Yusuf Adil Shah. This one step endeared him to the Marathas who willingly co-operated with Yusuf and his successors in the government of the state. Another reason for the Maratha support of the Adilshahi kingdom is to be sought in the Hindu conception of kingship and the fatalism of the Hind mind. Once the Muhammadans gained the sovereignty of the Deccan, the Hindus accepted their rule as an ordained fact. And once they accepted the Muhammadan rule, they looked upon the Sultan in the light of their conception of a king, which was that a king was ruler by divine decree.[2] When Shivaji shattered this belief the Marathas could relinquish their support of the Sultanate with a clear conscience.

The Marathas had always occupied an honourable position in the state since the days of the Bahmanis. Many Maratha families rose to power and influence under Adilshahi rule, chief amongst whom was Shahaji Bhonsla, the father of Shivaji. He entered the service of Bijapur under Muhammad Adil Shah and rose to great eminence as a general and as an administrator. Much of the credit of the Adilshahi conquests in the south after 1636 is due to Shahaji in recognition of which he was appointed to the charge of them. The Nimbalkars of Phaltan and the Ghorpades of Mudhol had similarly distinguished themselves in Adilshahi service. Maloji Nimbalkar loyally supported Ali 'Adil Shah I., at the battle of Talikotta.[3] In fact Babajisaheb Naik, the founder of the

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1. Ferishta II., 22.

2. ना विष्णु: पृथिवी पति:।

3. Itihas Samgraha II. ix., 24-31.

Nimbalkar family threw in his lot with Yusuf Adil Shah when he declared his independence. Yusuf rewarded Babajisaheb by granting him the 'Jagir' of Phaltan[4] which belongs to the Nimbalkar family to this day. Similarly the chieftainship of Mudhol is still in the Ghorpade family. Both the present day Maratha states of Jath and Savantwadi in the Bombay Presidency trace their origin to Adilshahi days. Another distinguished Maratha family in the service of Bijapur was the Mores of the Javli, so mercilessly extirpated by Shivaji in 1656. Besides these there were various other families, Shirke, Mohite, Maue, Ghatge and Mahadik – still living and honoured in the Deccan – who obtained place and power at the Adilshahi court.[5]

It is clear, therefore, that the Marathas had equal opportunities to distinguish themselves as military leaders with the Muhammadan nobility. Another branch of state service was exclusively in the hands of the Hindus, the revenue and accounts department. The Hindus, particularly the Brahmins, were adept at figures and all state accounts were kept by them. Brahmins had been in charge of the accounts since the days of the Bahamanis and this practice was continued by the Adilshahi Sultans of Bijapur and also other Deccan Sultanates.[6] Just as accounts were exclusively in the hands of the Brahmins, the collection of revenue was entrusted to Maratha officers. All the revenue officers in the various parts of the kingdom were thus usually Hindus. But Brahmins also occupied other positions in the state. Garcia de Orta notices that they were employed by the kings of the Deccan as "treasurers, writers, collectors of rent and ambassadors."[7] Particularly were they employed as envoys and occasionally even as ministers.[8] The Hindus thus possessed considerable administrative power and some political influence in the Deccan Sultanates. They also occupied high positions in the civic life of the capital. Asad Beg, the Mughal ambassador, found that the headmen of the various artisan guilds were Hindus.

Government of the state, therefore, was not entirely in the hands of the Muhammadans; the Hindus had a considerable share in it. This made it impossible for the Muhammadan powers to retain their bigotry and fanaticism. With the exception of Muhammad Adilshah none of the sultans of Bijapur showed intolerance towards their Hindu subjects. Ibrahim Adil Shah I., a staunch Sunni, showed great preference for Hindus over Pardesi

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4. Maratha Sardars, 31.
5. Maratha Sardars, 39-63; Grant Duff I., 68-71. For accounts of some other Hindu families which rose to eminence under Adilshahi rule, see Rajwade XX.
6. Ferishta I., 527., II., 5,49,85,99. B. S., 349.
7. Colloquies, 292.. Also Linschoten I., 247.
8. Ferishta II., 39, 57, 206.

Muhammadans,[9] and Ali Adil Shah I., interested himself in Hindu 'Sanyasis' and priests. Like Akbar he used to delight in discussing philosophical problems with them and rewarded them liberally.[10] Ibrahim II., even came under the suspicion of being a devotee of the Hindu goddess of learning, Saraswati, and was known, and is still remembered in the Deccan, by the Sanskrit epithet Jagatguru,[11] (जगत्गुरू). The legend on his copper coins ابلا بلی 'Protector of the weak'[12] a pure Sanskrit phrase, bears eloquent testimony to the influence of Hinduism on him.

The Adilshahi Sultans put into practice the tolerance which they felt towards their Hindu subjects. Hindu temples in various parts of the kingdom were given liberal endowments by the kings.[13] Sometimes a Hindu noble would make similar endowments,[14] and this practice was not interfered with. Pandharpur, the centre of the democratic Bhakti cult,[15] was in the Adilshahi kingdom. The place was never disturbed by the rulers. The Hindu priestly classes were left to practice their profession in peace, their hereditary rights were scrupulously upheld and lands were given to them for their maintence or arrangements were made with state-officials by which they were given small cash payments.[16] One Joshi family known to the present writer still holds 'Adilshahi 'firmans' confirming the grant of a small yearly income on them and the right to practice their priestly profession in certain villages in the Konkan.[17] Another Joshi family near Rajapur got their living from 'inam' lands confirmed to them by the Adilshahs.[18] Many of the grants made to the priestly classes by Shivaji and his descendants were mere confirmations and continuations of those bestowed during Adilshahi rule.[19]

The general life of the Hindu community was left to itself under Adilshahi rule. No attempts were made to superimpose the culture of the rulers on their Hindu subjects. The traces of Persian influence on the Marathi language and of the Muhammadan

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9. Ferishta II, 49.

10. T. M. 43a; B. S. 79.

11. B. S. 279; Gaikwad, 20-21; Rajwade XV., 25.

12. J. A. S. B. (N. S. 1922), 37-38.

13. B. I. S. M., II., 21, 33; S. P. S. S., I., 78, 137.

14. S. P. S. S., I. 81; Shahaji, 97-98.

15. See Chapter XI of H. M. P., I.

16. S. P. S. S., I., 2, 14, 45, 72, 120-21, 161-62.

17. B. I. S. M., XI. ii. 5-7. I have verified these facts from the members of this Joshif amily known to me in Bombay. The cash payments have lapsed long since.

18. History of the Joshi family (वृति विजय जोशी पावसकर), folios 1-2.

19. Cf. " कसबे कव्हाड येस्थालिया ब्राह्मणांस पूर्वी आदल शाटाचे कारकीर्दीस कित्येक वृत्ती होत्या. " Grant of Shivaji in विविधज्ञान विस्तार June, 1924, 289. Also B. I. S. M. Proceedings VII, 232-35. X. 140.

dress on the dress of the Marathas were due to the people themselves. Such Hindu institutions as obtained in the villages were left untouched, possibly because the Muhammadan rulers had no alternative system of village administration. But the real reason was that it was impossible for the Muhammadans to change the life of the people sanctified by tradition that had its roots in the ancient past. The Deccan sultanates wisely understood this cardinal fact as is shown by the policy they adopted towards their Hindu subjects.

The only Adilshahi king who adopted an active policy of suppression of the Hindus was Muhammad Adil Shah.[20] But even he seems to have been aware for a time that the Marathas were the backbone of his kingdom, and he was careful not to violate any of the practices followed by his predecessors. Thus we find that he continued the grant of the 'inam' lands to Hindu temples made during the reign of his father Ibrahim Adil Shah II.[21] But his religious zeal proved greater than his statesmanship and he succumbed to the idea of spreading the glory of Islam, unmindful of its reactions on the Marathas. No other Adilshahi sultan had adopted a policy of religious intolerence, for they knew that it was sure to create resentment among their subjects. It was here that Muhammad 'Adil Shah failed. He failed to understand the strength of the rising tide of Maratha patriotism and his unwise policy only helped to bring the Marathas closer together under the leadership of Shivaji.

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Presidential Address.

Modern Section (from 1724 A.D.)

First Deccan History Conference, Hyderabad, April 1945.

BY

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I am very grateful to the organisers of the First Deccan History Conference for having conferred on me the honour of presiding over the Modern Section. I am an humble camp follower in the army of the students and researchers in Indian History and I have been serving for many years in this division of our army; and I deem that my election to the Presidentship of this section is only a symbol and manifestation of that spirit of democratic equality that animates all our scholars. The task of interpreting the several note-worthy phases of the political, institutional, cultural and economic history of Modern Deccan since the foundaition of the Asaf Jahi State in 1724 A. D. has been developing an increasing complexity and expanding scope in the last quarter of a century. A careful and correctly based exposition of the phases of interaction of military, political and other forces, cultural and social, has been rendered more difficult, and at the same time, more significant, not only because our data are accumulating fast, but also on account of the numerous and markedly divergent points of view animating the minds of the interpreters. The continually growing amount of material, specially in the shape of records and contemporary letters, tracts and books, is staggering in quantity and perplexing in its varying values and degrees of significance. Moreover, the workers in our field are labouring under a serious handicap arising out of an unconscious subjective bias or a conviction and a sub-conscious tendency to import a great deal more of the element of personal and other points of view than would be scientifically correct. The decay of the indigedous political system in general and the rise and establishment of British domination in the land in the period have naturally led to the interpretation of historical data from points of view that have changed, in some respects very radically, from generation to generation.

With reference to the Deccan, the foundation on a firm basis of the Hyderabad State by the great diplomat-administrator-general, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah Bahadur has fittingly served as the starting point of a new period, and the continued life and vitaliy it has maintained uninterruptedly since its inception has constituted a very unique feature and likewise served to give an institutional continuity to the life of a large proportion of the people and territory of the Deccan. With regard to South India proper, into which the Muslim power had begun its effective penetration about the middle of the 17th century, there was operating a simultaneous phenomenon, *viz.* the establishment of the coastal factories of the different European nationalities, which were soon to serve as the starting points of their respective political and military ambition. The histoiy of the 18th century was marked by an increasing loss of vitality on the part of the indigenous rulers and by the spread, throughout the country, of a disruptive type of feudalism that broke down the old institutional organisation and fostered no new growth except that of the hated *peon* and the tax-collector coming in his wake, and ate away consequently much the best part of the indigenous machinery of local administration. This constitutes the main explanation why the administrative and social history of the 18th century, and that with particular reference to South India, has so far remained relatively unexplored and but thinly interpreted, while even now there is a lack of really sound literature bearing on the administrative and social history of land in the recent centuries. Even our political history literature has continued to retain the colour and the tempo given to it by the early historians of the British power like Orme, Cambridge, Mark Wilks and James Mill. Most writers of that early age, and some even of the more recent times, became unconsciously inclined to find extra-historical and quasi-providential reasons for the vitality and dominance of the British power and culture as against the weakened and demoralised indigenous governments and systems of life. Many of us suffer, even at the present day, from an insidious disease which makes us live in and write with a quasi-English mentality and from a half-foreign angle, resulting in a disproportionately stressed appreciation of western political and administrative ideals and an artificial enhancement of their value. This tendency has produced a lack of really accurate and objective treatment of topics on the other side also, by writers of the west.

There has been steadily growing in the last century an increasingly vigorous, intellectual and political life in the land thoroughly impulsed and influenced by British political practice, ideology and literature; and more recently, the marked growth of Indian nationalistic thought has produced a new bias which has, strangely enough, worked in two glaringly conflicting directions. It is well worth repetition that the material at the disposal of the

student for the recent two centuries and a half is "staggering in quantity and bewildering in its range," and consequently the difficulty of co-ordination of the growing mass is like-wise formidable in many respects, particularly in the delineation of diplomatic dealings and pictures of cultural and economic life. We have however one definite advantage over workers in other fields. The dross of romanticism and commonplace sentimentalism, which occasionally permeates research in more antique epochs can affect this period only in a markedly smaller measure. But then we have to suffer under a counteracting disadvantage, as there is also in operation the more serious, and in reality the more insidious, danger of researchers trying to read, either by reason of an unconscious bias or by force of sub-conscious analogy, a great deal more than is justifiable in a rigidly objective process of elucidation and reasoning that should mark the study of the factors that brought about the decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment, in the whole country, of the British, in preference to other European, domination.

Personalities and individual achievements have rightly claimed a large proportion of the attention of historians and researchers in the modern age, and in their treatment, particularly in respect of political, military and diplomatic transactions, partisanship of a varying character, has been in abundant evidence in our historical literature.

II

Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah not only founded the Hyderabad State, but also stabilished and organised it. He was a man of high principles and was endowed with a remarkable amount of political sagacity and statesmanship. He brought peace and security to a distracted country. In the words of the learned scholar, Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, "He was no mean scholar and poet, no less an administrator in peace than a general in war. No series on the 'Rulers of India' is complete without him, and history has done scant justice to his achievements. He did not only command armies, he was a leader of men; he did not only found a State, he organised and established it. The basic divisions of Divani, Sarf-e-Khas and Paigah owe their origin to him. He brought peace and security to a distracted land; he had the wisdom to seek the substance, not the shadow, of power; he may never have 'declared' his independence; but he was independent, and he had the stature and the sinews to maintain it; and yet, when Nadir rode with blood and thunder into Hindustan, he marched to the defence of Delhi, the scene of his ancient loyalty, against the invader of India."

Nawab Asaf Jah's authority and jurisdiction extended as far as Trichinopoly in the South and covered the subah of Arcot. The intrigues and disorder that broke out after his death had been foreseen by contemporary observers, both European and Indian, but not certainly the full extent of the disastrous consequences that ensued and brought about European interference—in a most unexpected manner and with fatal results—in the affairs of the State and the dominance first of the French and later of the English powers that was planted at the Deccan court, in an unshakable manner. This period of confusion and political instability lasted in its first phase from 1751 to 1762. In the long reign of Nizam Ali Khan, who is certainly entitled to credit, as a very cautious ruler, there occurred the usual "give and take wars" between the Nizam, the Marathas and Mysore with the English and the French participating as opportunity offered. The cession of the Northern Circars to the British in 1765 and the disturbances caused by the frequent incursions of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan led in 1786 to the despatch of an English mission under Holland to Hyderabad and subsequently to the appointment of a Resident British Minister at that court.

Meanwhile French influence waxed and waned under Raymond who was the master both of Perron and Baptiste, who were noted among the noticeable European adventurers of the age. Raymond died in 1798; and soon afterwards under the influence of the now securely established English power, his forces were disarmed and disbanded in a most dramatic manner. Thus ended the last phase of the attempt at building up French ascendancy at Hyderabad. The actual disarmament of the French contingent was carried out by the Subsidiary Force Troops, first raised by the English under a treaty in 1765 for the support of the Nizam's Government.

Nawab Nizam Ali Khan died in 1803 in the same year as the battle of Assaye, with British influence established over his state securely and permanently. He was followed by his son, Nizam Sikandar Jah, whose rule was uneventful except for the ill-fated machination of Rajah Mahipat Ram against the British and for the vigorous efforts made by the Resident Sir Charles Metcalfe to counteract the doings of Rajah Chandu Lal, the Peshkar, who was the virtual minister for the last ten years of the reign. It was at this stage that the government began to drift into the terrible financial and administrative troubles that fill a large portion of the canvas of Deccan History in the first half of the 19th century.

The next Nizam, Nawab Nasir-ud-Daula, ruled for a fairly long period. His reign was marked by a serious Wahabi conspiracy which aimed at the over-throw of English dominance and whose origin and spread were shrouded in obscurity and by

the great sectarian riots that broke out in the capital between the Sunni and the Shia factions, as well as by the vexed question of the assignment of the Berars to the English. This reign also witnessed the appointment of the illustrious Salar Jung to the Ministership and the consequent cessation of the confusion in the administration that had continued for fully ten years after the resignation of Rajah Chandu Lal in 1843. The rule of the next Nizam, Nawab Afzal-ud-Daula, was marked, first and foremost by the steadfast loyalty of the State towards the English in the crisis of the Mutiny. He was succeeded by his infant son, the Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan; he had an illustrious reign of great significance for the development of the State; and during his long minority, the great Minister, Salar Jung, continued to work till his sudden death in 1883. The period covered by the reign of Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan and H. E. H. the present Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar—may he continue to reign long—has constituted an era of full-fledged development of the State and its Prajas in every aspect of life.

Not only do the achievements and the features of the rule of the successive Nizams constitute apt and suitable subjects for the labours of the students but also the records of the achievements of the distinguished line of ministers form an additional suitable field of investigation. Their greatness may be traced back to the times of Syed Lashkar Khan and his equally great rival, Shah Nawaz Khan. The latter spent the seven years of his exile from the Nizam's court in writing the greater part of his famous biographical work, which has been of such utility to students of Indian History. The part that these two great ministers played in the dark days that followed the death of the great Asaf Jah requires further elucidation. The illustrious Diwan of Nizam Ali, Ghulam Sayid Khan, generally known by his titles Azim-ul-Umara and Arastu Jah, helped the English in their wars against Tipu and even went, for reasons of state advantage, into captivity into the hands of the Marathas after Khardla. His valuable services to Peshwa Baji Rao II, particularly in the matter of obtaining his succession, secured for him not only his personal release from captivity but also the restoration to the Nizam of the ceded territories.

The next Minister was equally famous. Meer Alam Bahadur had represented the Nizam's Government at Calcutta in 1786 and had acted as minister when Azim-ul-Umara was absent at Poona as the state's hostage; he was present at the taking of Seringapatam and succeeded Azim-ul-Umara in the Ministry. His great public work was the well-known lake near Hyderabad named after him and constructed from out of his share of the prize money that he got in the capture of Seringapatam.

Meer Alam's successor was his son-in-law Munirul-Mulk, in whose time the Peshkar Raja Chandulal rose into prominence and became the *defacto* minister. The great Meer Turab Ali Sir Salar Jung, Mukhtarul-Mulk has become almost a legendary figure; and the fortunes and achievements of his family which has given several ministers to the State constitute a little explored field of research well worthy of study.

The history of the British Residency itself is again another subject of arresting personal interest and political significance. From the time of Sir John Kennoway, Resident 1788-93, one can proceed on through the epoch of the two brothers, Major William Kirkpatrick and Col. Achilles Kirkpatrick, the latter being the first Resident whe represented both the governments, then through the rule of Captain Sydenham and Sir Henry Russel and then across to the times of the great Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose energetic remonstrances against the evils of the day and useful attempts at reform are matters of general history—and then we have got plenty of material bearing on the doings of the succeeding Residents like Col. Stewart, General Fraser and Col. Love. Then again there are the great noble families like that of Amir Kabir, which afford interesting topics of study.

The period 1799-1819 is rich with consequences for the history of the Deccan and it has a personal interest "exceeding that of any other period in British Indiān relations," and rich in the many actions of men who were marked by outstanding gifts of individuality and character. I may here put forth a plea for a specially intensive study of this epoch, particularly of its personality aspect, though 'personality' history is not now much in vogue, and though the approach to history through the medium of men, rather than of social factors and trends is 'suspected of leanings to the Ruritarian school of history.'

III

A strong plea has been put forth for the preparation of a series of volumes on the History and Legacy of the Deccan; and one of the arguments brought forth is that it is "only in answer to the violence done to our History and to the History of India in general by the joint authors of the recent publication who describe the three main concerns of the rulers of India as being the maintenance of an army, the collection of revenue and the development of espionage." The same writer continues thus:—"The history of the Deccan under the Asaf Jahi Dynasty is also the history of cultural, administrative and economic development, and it should be properly correlated to the scheme of a comprehensive

history of India projected by the Indian History Congress even as it is necessary for this movement of this Deccan History Congress to associate itself closely with and not to run counter in anyway against the Indian History Congress itself."

Further it has been stressed that the Asaf Jahi period is specially rich in the histories and historians that it has produced. From the time of Shah Nawaz Khan, there accumulated a rich heritage of valuable source books of contemporary character and worth for both the earlier and the later stages of the epoch. Nawab Ali Yawār Jung writees thus succinctly about the historical material available for the period : " The student of Deccan history would do well, as a matter of fact, to begin with the study and classification of the bibliography of the period; he would no doubt include those many French and English sources which have already been published, and the invaluable collections of original documents in London and Paris, Delhi, Poona, Madras and Pondicherry, where much of our history is preserved. There are treasures nearer home; among the private collections may specially be mentioned the documents in the possession of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur and the Paigahs and the Peshkari Estate, not to mention the manuscripts at Kalyani and Aurangabad and in the Saidiyah Library. The Asafiyah State Library, which has just celebrated its golden jubilee, and the Daftar-e-Divani, have also large collections of manuscripts bearing on the history of the Deccan. The latter, an amalgamation of three or four old offices, each with a history of its own contains an exhaustive record of sanads and grants and of documents dating back to the Emperor Jahangir. Many of the treaties and engagements contracted by the State are preserved in the Daftar which also possesses innumerable Firmans of different Rulers, letters from news-agents at different Courts in India and much interesting material dealing, among other matters, with Hyderabad's trade by sea on the east coast and its shipbuilding activities for which timber was brought from the Northern Circars."

The State Records might very well be supplemented and enriched by the absorption into them of all categories of State papers, which, as in the case of many British ministerial families, have been left in the private record collections of the families of the respective ministers. The Osmania University has naturally enough, emphasised the value of the study of Deccan History. For the preparation of authentic volumes bearing on it steps have been taken and experts have been invited for writing out the various chapters of the projected volumes. In this respect, it has been well remarked elsewhere that what has become known as Mulki or Deccani sentiment should, so far as we historians are concerned, be essentially viewed as a justifiable pride in the past achievements of the Deccan and as stimulating a sincere endeavour to present it not in any aggressive from, but in its true perspective

and in its proper setting in the general picture of India's cultura and political history. The Deccan, particularly the core of it, the Asaf Jahi State, has, naturally enough, a very rich and almost unrivalled legacy of cultural and historical heritage, the continuity of which though contributed by different races and peoples, is very remarkable. Let me join in echoing the following remarkable passage as to its real value and character : "In its associations with great scenes of the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, in its having been the abode of the earliest writers of Maharashtra and the great poets of the language of Kannada, in the facts of its having housed the Andhra Nagari of ancient times, in its expression in colour and its symbolism in form of the rocks of Ajanta and Ellora, and again, in its noble ruins of Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar and the library of Malik Amber at Aurangabad, in the great dams of recent times constructed to contain reserves of water for the peasant and in architecture such as you find in this building, harmonising the concepts of the two great cultures which have found one home, in all these and many more we have common objects of pride, and the resulting heritage belongs to one and all of us equally. No political controversy or economic urge of the day can alter that fundamental fact of history. It has led to the age-long consciousness of an entity and to an instinct to defend it against external interference which found its personification in Chand Bibi and Malik Amber. The same instinct runs down the ages to the present, and when the wealth of the heritage is known and seen, and the traditions are felt to which it has given birth, none will stand in need of an apology from us. What has now become known as Mulki or Deccani sentiment is in essence our pride in our past and our determination to defend and strengthen ourselves by our own exertions. It will explain the existence of that quality, something more than mere local patriotism, or State-consciousness, which, far more than in any other Indian State, you will find influencing our thoughts and ambitions, and no student of our history, or our politics could arrive at a true appraisal of the forces at work without appreciation and sense of that perspective. The sentiment does not come in the way of others; it only asks for internal development on the lines of our own genius; it therefore naturally resents interference by outside elements which have not solved their own problems and have, therefore, nothing to teach beyond what we may ourselves, in accordance with our needs, choose to learn or adopt of their best. It is not mere isolationism or the assertion of a kind of Monroe doctrine which we have seen buried in our own days in the very place of its birth. The independence of Nizam-ul-Mulk did not come in the way of his marching to the defence of Delhi against an Iranian invader, and to-day the armed forces of his seventh successor are fighting against an even greater menace to the

integrity of India. They signify the bonds which unite us with the rest of India, and the homage we pay to the continuance of the unity of Indian History."

Thus materials for the study of the modern phase of Deccan History are profuse. There are heaps of documents preseved in the record offices at various places and in the private collection of those families whose ancestors played important part in government and politics. The international rivalries which affected the fortunes of the British in India have been reflected in the 18th and 19th centuries in the tremendous repercussions of the course of contemporary history. The effects of western education and culture have also to be studied. For the Deccan History sources embodied in Maratha, Telgu, Tamil and Kannada records are especially valuable. A word may be put in here for the successful operation of the new plan of Regional Surveys of Records formulated by the Indian Historical Records Commission which can be utilised to enrich the materials for the study of the history of every region.

Schemes of histories of various provinces and cultural zones of the country may be regarded as being both supplementary to and accelerating of, the progress of an All-India scheme for a comprehensive history of the land, on which the Indian History Congress has embarked with much encouraging success, in as much as they will give a clearer idea of what might be involved in national effort and make available for it a body of experienced historians who have accomplished a similar task. Thus the project of the History of the Deccan which has been started under the auspices of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. Yazdani and his colleagues, deserves high commendation, because to the work have been harnessed the abilities and research fruits of distinguished scholars.

The new school of Modern Indian Historiography that is developing has naturally been claiming attention at the hands of public authorities and soliciting help from them for the increased availability of the records and of their contents and also for the starting of historical institutes and conferences as part of their necessary equipment and as clearing houses and mutual exchange organs of such material. These functions can be best conducted in permanent or quasi-permanent institutions of scholars expert in calendaring and sifting work and also capable of correct interpretation of material and working in co-operation with bodies like the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress. The Deccan History Conference will, we are sure, serve as an effective instrument for such co-operation and collaboration, and we wish it a long and glorious career of increasing usefulness.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MARATHA-NIZAM RELATIONS.

BY
RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI, KAMSHET.

I CANNOT too highly commend the inauguration of a Deccan History Conference at Hyderabad. Nor do I consider it to have been planned too soon. The Deccan indeed forms a distinct geographical unit of this Indian Continent, separated from the northern lands by the river Narmada. The peninsular region between this river and the Indian ocean has been known as the Deccan, of which Maharashtra or the Maratha Country is certainly the most important for our immediate concerns. The name Maharashtra which has corrupted into Maratha, has been in use since ancient times, where the Prakrit language Maharashtri was spoken, having a rich literature of its own, which gave rise to our present day Marathi. A distinct historical and clearly dated mention of the Maharashtra country occurs in the Aihole (near Badami) inscription executed by the famous Chalukya monarch Satyashraya-Pulakeshi (A. C. 608--642), who is therein recorded as having taken possession of the Maharashtra country in the year 634. That country then contained 99000 villages and was divided into three distinct parts,-Vidarbha (Berar), Ashmaka (or the Baglan country of the north Godavary valley) and Kuntala, south of the Krishna, now known as the southern Maratha country.[1] These three different units practically retain to this day their former extent and political character, i.e. Berar now included in C. P., the Maratha districts of the Bombay Presidency and the Marathwada of the Nizam's Dominions. These artificial divisions introduced and perpetuated by the freaks of politics ought not to blind us to their essential unity in wordly interests and practical life.

In order to satisfy the needs of historical research and advancement of scholarship, a separate institution has long been a necessity which a self-contained centre of learning like the Osmania University and the patronage of a powerful State like that of the Nizam's Dominions could alone satisfy. The University of Bombay for obvious reasons could never undertake this function. The Bharat Itihas Mandal of Poona and the Rajwade Research Institute of Dhulia have all along been too poor, too exclusive and too parochial in their outlook to look after the growing needs of a wider and comprehensive research all round; nor can the modern History Congress, nor the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona concentrate on the history of the Deccan proper, taking account of the

[1] अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणाम् ।
नवनवतिसहस्र ग्रामभांजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

varied and immense mass of materials that are available not only in old documents, but in local inscriptions, coins and relics and works of art and architecture, in which this land abounds and which invite patient and immediate attention in order to preserve them from permanent loss or ruin. These Deccani lands have had many seats of learning and famous capitals such as Daulatabad, Sind-Khed, Paithan, Kalyani, Bidar, Gulburga, Malkhed, Hampi, Anagondi, with forts, ramparts, shrines and mosques, not to mention a large number of other historical places ancient and modern. This wealth of monuments and inscriptions, of buried coins and perishing papers, deserves to be immediately saved and brought into use, as it will afford ample scope for scholarly labours being devoted to all the three periods of our history, ancient, medieval and modern. For such a task an independant body fostered by a State, which few realize is larger than the Presidency of Bombay, was vitally needed, and I sincerely hope its operations would be conducted in a broad Catholic spirit so as to satisfy all points of view and all shades of national scholarship.

2. The 18th Century History.

My personal experience is, as you well know, confined to the Maratha period only, that is to say, roughly to the two centuries 17th and 18th. I have ever regretted my ignorance of Persian and have concentrated my labours mainly on Maratha sources. The history of the Marathas has, in my opinion, two essential characteristics, (1) it is the most recent indigenous experiment in nation-building activities in India, and secondly, it offers to its votaries an enormous mass of published materials. Workers in the Bombay Presidency know that there are no less than at least five hundred printed volumes of Marathi sources, — each containing about 500 pages. This collection owes its existence to the selfless labours of several Maratha scholars; and if I have to offer any lesson to your conference at Hyderabad, I would immediately recommend this example of Maharashtra for imitation by your students of the Osmania University, earnestly scouring all your rich and vast regions and bringing together the uncared for materials that are certainly lying about in heaps.

The eighteenth century history of the Deccan is mainly made up by the Muslim-Maratha struggle, commencing with the death of Aurangzeb, and ending with the fall of the last Peshwa. This period bristles in battles and campaigns, victories and defeats, hostilities and friendships, but always a close contact between the two

powers, the Peshwas of Poona and the Nizams of Hyderabad. The whole theme centres round the relations of these two rivals. The Peshwas' family produced several capable members in quick succession, whose short life presents a remarkable contrast to the longevity of the two main figures of the Asaf Jahi dynasty, Asaf Jah himself and his son Nizam Ali. Those two witnessed not less than seven individuals occupying the Peshwa's seat at Poona. The contest between these two assumed curious and delicate forms at different times. Indeed when the rising Peshwas inflicted repeated blows upon Asaf Jah and his descendants, it was commonly believed that Marathas would soon eradicate Muslim rule from the South. But in the end history disclosed a wonderful phenomenon. It is the line of Asaf Jah today which holds the major portion of the Maharashtra lands, while even the name of the Peshwa is practically forgotten. Tenacity has won over shortlived briliance. I for myself do not feel at all distressed at this result; it is immaterial whether a particular line of rulers succeeds or fails : what is of essence is how the cooperative will of the two races works jointly for this nation's destiny, when both are being held in equal subjection to a foreign power, having long ago lost their liberties. The point is what use we make of our past history, to make or mar the future. To me the immediate task is clear.

3. The Archives of Hyderabad.

It is within your knowledge that through my instrumentality the Government of Bombay had the records of the Peshwas' Daftar fully explored with the result that some 8000 pages of historical material out of an incalculable mass of sevaral crores, have been published. While going through this enormous mass I was every moment conscious of something wanting, something incomplete. After all Poona possessed, I felt, only a half of the enacted story, may be perhaps the major half, but the other half was certainly missing. If the history was acted jointly by the two powers, the archives of both must be laid under contribution if complete and accurate narrative of past events is to be evolved; and in consequence if the Poona records after a long effort have seen the light of day, the possessions of the sister power of Hyderabad must be equally made available for the scrutiny of scholars. This subject has all along kept me constantly alert and restless as I went on publishing only one-sided version in my Riyasat volumes. At the annual session of the Historical Records Commission I happened to cultivate the acquaintance of Mr. Khurshid Ali, the retired Director of the Hyderabad Record Office. He very kindly invited me in January 1937 to be his guest and allowed me to see the few bundles of Marathi papers which he had on hand. I worked there for a week, but regretted not to have found anything

tangible for my purpose. But what little I saw certainly roused my curiosity and expectations. Fortunately I came across another enthusiastic figure in Hyderabad, full of talent, judgement and driving force, I mean the President of your Association, Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, whose first acquaintance I happened to make when as a Professor of your University he came to inspect the Persian Records at Poona, while I was then editing the Marathi selections. He has, as we all know, acquired unique experience in life and travel and contacted various eminent personalities in the course of his official duties. He has thus been able to acquire a singular grasp of Indian politics and India's immediate needs. We have freely exchanged our views when opportunities presented. He has rightly judged that through history alone would come the solution of our ills. He has been assiduously developing this idea in the midst of the heavy preoccupations involved in his official duties. He has been working to bring about a healthy spirit of research, progress, and unity, not allowing Hyderabad to be outstripped by the advancing world outside.

During little more than a month that I spent at the Record Office of Hyderabad in January and February, I found some very precious historical material bearing on the joint history of the Maratha-Nizam relations. More than five lacs of papers have so far been brought together and a much larger amount can be recovered if a persistent effort can be made. In the Poona Records news-letters were discovered in plenty sent by Maratha agents stationed at the Court of the Nizam; similarly your Daftar-e-Diwani contains numerous news-letters sent by the Nizam's agents stationed at Poona and other places. They often contain valuable information acquired by secret agents employed by the Hyderabad Government at the Maratha capital. These news-letters are couched in a language which although written in the Modi script, is a curious blend of Urdu and Marathi. A singular chronicle written in old Modi is discovered at the Osmania University, which contains 143 pages written by some Hyderabad agent and describing the doings of the Maratha rulers at Poona. This chronicle is indeed a rare find, as I now see, that a few stray leaves of the same work were discovered and printed at Poona about thirty years ago. I am sanguine that more copies of this chronicle would be discovered if a thorough search were made, so as to replace the first 17 pages and those after 143 which this present copy has lost. It will thus be realized how a joint and earnest effort in research is immediately necessary. It is sure to enrich our joint history.

4. Muslim genius for History.

As a life-long labourer in the field of history, I have imbibed in my mental make up several imperishable facts of our joint Hindu

and Muslim situıtion during nearly a millenium of our mutual contact, a record of which is a precious legacy of both. Compared to the achievements of the Muslims, the Marathas pale into dismal insignificance. The Muslims have all along been a proud and valient race. In the world's record there is hardly any other line of such brilliant and capable rulers as the six grand figures of the Mughal Empire. Not only did they change the political face of India, but we Hindus cut a very sorry figure even in the recorded story of our past life. I spoke above of a large number of printed volumes of Marathi materials, but let me assure you that they are all mostly third rate compositions, with hardly any original state documents or statesmen's despatches. They are mostly bakhars and news-letters in no way comparable to such eminent Persian works as the history of Ferishta, the Memoirs of Babar, the autobiography of Jahangir, or the several official records of those great rulers, like that of Khwafikhan, for instance The Hindus can't boast of a single production that can even stand distant comparison with Abul Fazl's Ain-e-Akbari, a veritable mine of invaluable information on the many-sided activities of the Mughal State and society of the period. In fact in point of history the Muslims are our great teachers. The Hindus have nothing to show in comparison, beyond one solitary instance of the Rajatarangini, an old Sanskrit poem recording the history of the rulers of Kashmere. Even this is not of a very high order. It is only recently that the Hindus are reconstrncting their glorious past out of scrappy and scattered evidence. A proper sense of time and place is the very soul of history to which Muslim writers as a rule have done due justice; while even most important letters and despatches of the Peshwas themselves, hardly bear any date, and if at all a date is mentioned, it is invariably without a mention of the year. Our most trying difficulty in editing Marathi papers including those of the Peshwas' Daftar also, arose from this absence of dates, or the names of writers and the addressees. Even the origin of the two prominent Hindu eras, the Samvat and the Shak, is still shrouded in mystery. We don't know the date of our great poet Kalidas. One need not wonder, therefore, if a serious controversy has raged in Maharashtra over the correct birth-date of their great hero Shivaji. Contrast this with the correct dates and details we obtain in Muslim works not only about the numerous progeny of the Emperors themselves, but of most of the events connected with their life's work. Indeed the Muslims exhibit a remarkable genius for history.

5. Cooperation the Crying need.

Gentlemen, we human beings are always imperfect, along with some strong points we possess glaring weaknesses also. A nation can lead a successful life only when all its members are ready to

complement each other, to have a free give and take policy between them. If we refuse to cooperate, we are undone. At this moment, I feel, we have fallen on evil times. Instead of putting our shoulders jointly to the wheel for our all-round national uplift, we are wasting our energy, both of us, in narrow selfish squabbles. The military life of the camp which the Muslims long practised in India and outside, and which the Hindus ceased during centuries to experience, has now been denied to both, with the result that we both have lost the healthy mutual comrade-ship and discipline, upon which success in life so vitally depends. Loss of liberty has made both races effete and blind to the call of their national duty. The other day when I was hospitably received and shown round the grand edifices of the Osmania University, its exquisite workmanship and decorative taste, the splendid halls, the gorgeous library, the sumptuous hostels, my mind inwardly travelled to the poor conditions of the colleges of Poona, but this poverty, I thought, engendered a keen competition in scholarship; the vivacious brain of Poona evcr restless for reserch and advancement, I am sorry I missed in the grandeur of Haidarabad. You must bear with me, friends, for my outspoken remarks. I have reached a stage in life where I have nothing to gain or lose by uttering a false cry. I here express my genuine sentiments. I have ever been a great admirer of the strong sense of brotherhood and equality which the Muslims as a race have exhibited through historic ages. Let the two great races heartily cooperate and make up each other's defects in the service of their common Motherland and the future is sure to be as bright and prosperous as they both would wish. This is the crying need of the moment.

6. Specific Tasks before us.

In this vein of thought, allow me gentlemen, to conclude my remarks by pointing out what appear to me some of the specific tasks that lie before this conference for immediate execution if our mutual history is to be reconstructed.

1. All available materials, now lying scattered through these extensive dominions, pertaining to all the languages which they embrace, Sanskrit, Marathi, Kanarese, Telegu as well as Persian, should be at once brought together and made available for fresh research, the University taking charge of them for explorative purposes.

2. A complete set of published materials in all these five languages must be immediately provided as the only means of further study.

3. A dictionery of biography of all historical characters occuring in these languages is an urgent necessity for a research worker. Buckland's dictionary of Anglo-Indian names should serve as a model.

4. The five languages mentioned above, being the mother-tongues of the various communities which constitute the populations of this State, should have equal and unhampered opportunity for study and development, special encouragement being offered to those students who know all or as many of these languages as possible. The world is fast driving towards such an ideal of equality for all races, wherein no suppression is possible. Thus alone can the needs of a genuine history come to be fulfilled.

5. So far as the history of the Asaf Jah and his immediate successors is concerned, the plentiful materials available in Marathi should be immediately calendered in English so as to awaken further research in other languages.

6. Similarly, Persian Documents of historical import in the State archives should be carefully arranged, classified and calendered in English. Their publication is vitally necessary for the study of history in all the Universities of India. The copies of the Imperial Sanads, granting Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi to the Marathas, must be looked for in these records and made available for study.

In conclusion let me express my hearty and grateful thanks to the Government of His Exalted Highness for allowing me an opportunity to examine their records and a share to cooperate in their labours towards a common evolution of historical results.

A Modi Bakhar at the Osmania University.

BY

RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI, KAMSHET.

WHEN I paid a visit to the Osmania University on 18th February I discovered there a Modi Ms. book containing 143 pages, and being curious to know what it was about, I borrowed the piece from the Library and studied it leisurely at the Guest House where I was staying. The document is written in a fine Modi hand, possibly by two or three different writers. It is a chronicle of events describing the regimes of the Peshwas, commencing with the last days of Aurangzeb and ending with happenings at Poona in the year 1779. Unfortunately the first 17 pages and those after 143 are lost. The paper used is old brown thick Daulatabadi. An attempt is made to write the incidents in a chronological order, using the Fasli era, but some of the dates mentioned are evidently incorrect.

The writer seems to be well acquainted with the details of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan's regime; most of the important events of the Peshwa's regime are briefly narrated: but some three or four events are graphically described to some of which the writer appears to be a personal witness, e. g. the murder of Haidar Jung (Bussy's Secretary), the imprisonment of Salabat Jung and the assumption of power by Nizam Ali Khan form an affair which is described with circumstantial detail on pp. 77–91. A few other important features of this document are.

1. The services of Balaji Vishwanath to Raja Shahu when he was a prisoner in Aurangzeb's camp and when this shrewd diplomat exercised backdoor influences to promote Shahu's interests by paying secret visits to Aurangzeb's daughter Zinat-un-nisa Begam. This rise of Balaji Vishwanath occupies some 14 pages (18–32)
2. The circumstantial details mentioned herein about the battle of Rakshasbhuvan (1763) in which Vithal Sundar was killed are equally graphic and probably witnessed personally by the writer.
3. The murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao at Poona is also described of which a few minute details here presented are no where else available (pp. 119–131).

On p. 141 there occurs a significant statement to this offect: "The Nawab Nizam Ali Khan despatched presents of dress and jewellery to the newly born Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao with Nanaji Shankar and Haibatrao Gopal. When Nanaji returned to

Hyderabad, he left Haibatrao Gopal at Poona to send here daily reports of important happenings at Poona". Nanaji Shankar is a member of the Rai Rayan family, whose career is known to extend from 1730 to 1785. His clerk Haibatrao Gopal, father of Raghutham Rao, was a competent Akhbarnawis, knowing Persian well and writing a good Modi hand. During my stay here for a month I have read a large number of news-letters from the pen of this Haibatrao Gopal, who acted almost as the important agent of Hyderabad, stationed at the Court of Poona during that critical period of the Peshwa–Nizam relations which came to be disturbed by the murder of Narayan Rao. Raghunath Rao the murdered Peshwa's uncle courted Nizam Ali's support to his cause; but when a son came to be born to the wife of the murdered Peshwa, the Poona ministry sought Nizam Ali Khan's recognition for the installation of this new Peshwa. It is well known that Nizam Ali Khan rendered a great good service to the Maratha raj by supporting the cause of the Barbhais against the mischievous move of Raghunath Rao in seeking British support and thus giving rise to the first Maratha-British war. The plentiful Akhbarat despatched from Poona by Haibatrao Gopal are eloquent and shed fresh light on the grand happenings in Indian History during the decade from the death of the Peshwa Madhava Rao I and the Treaty of Salbai (1772–1782).

If this newly discovered bakhar is from the pen of Haibatrao as I surmise it is, it is possible that a copy of it and possibly a complete one may be discovered in the Marathi records of the Rai Rayan family which are at present being investigated. I should therefor emphatically advise that a thorough search should be made for a copy of this bakhar both here in the Daftar-e-Diwani and outside.

I saw Prof. C. N. Joshi, M. A., who brought this bakhar to the Osmania University. He told me that he obtained it from one Maink Ganesh Kendrekar of Sanpuri in the Parbhani District. (A clerk of Mr. Vaman Naik living in a neighbouring village brought the bakhar to Prof. Joshi when he had visited Sanpuri sometime ago). I think if a careful search could be made in those places and the region round about, a copy of this bakhar may come to be traced.

In any case the present copy requires being at once renovated, as the pages are fast crumbling. It should then be copied and published with suitable calendars of important portions in the selections of Marathi historical pages which I suppose the Government of His Exalted Highness is going to undertake. This bakhar and the Akbarats will indeed form an important contribution to Maratha–Nizam history and certainly bring great credit to the Nizam's Government.

Shaha's Letter to Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah relating to Sidi Sat (A. D. 1735)

BY

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THERE were very few political events in which king Shahu personally took such keen interest as he did in his campaigns against the Sidis of Janjira. The Sidi-Maratha war dragged on for three years, from 1733 to 1736, and, in the end, brought but small gains to the Marathas. Sidi Sat was a notable figure on the side of the Sidis who, with their naturally strong island fortresses, defied for long the combined forces of the Maratha generals. In 1735, Sidi Sat suddenly fell on Bankot, destroyed the fort, and devastated a part of the neighbouring coastal tract.[1] But when he was hard pressed by the pursuing army of the Marathas he gave out that he would leave just a few vessels at Bankot and proceed towards Surat.[2]

A very large number of letters giving minutest details of the operations carried on by the Marathas, and of the actions fought between them and the forces of the Sidis, are given in Vols. 3 and 33 of the *Selections from the Peshwa Dafatr.* But a very important engagement between Sidi Sat and the Marathas which lasted for five days and which all but ruined the Sidi does not appear to have been mentioned in the letters which have been included in the above mentioned two volumes.

British Museum Additional 26,606 contains an English translation of a letter written by Shahu to Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. Unfortunately, the translation is not quite satisfactory. But the meaning of the letter is quite clear and one can judge the importance of this letter when one reads it in the context of other available papers bearing on this topic. It definitely adds to our knowledge of the Maratha campaigns. It shows the work done by the Maratha general, Udaji Pawar, and it gives the news that Bakaji Mahadik, "the Sirdar of Armada", and a prominent figure on the side of the Marathas, was killed in this action. It further shows to what straits Sidi Sat was reduced before he was killed in his battle with Chimaji Appa on April 19, 1736.[4]

1. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar,* Vol. 33 Letter No. 380
2. *Idem.* Vol. 3. Letter No. 171.
3. See *Idem* Vol. 3 Letter Nos. 151, 166, 171 and Vol. 33 Letter Nos. 337, 340, 341, 355. 358 and 380.
4. *Idem* Vol. 3 Letter No. 192 which gives an account of this battle and which was written by Chimaji Appa in his own hand.

Why Shahu found it necessary to write to Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah about Sidi Sat is mentioned in the letter itself. The Sidi, pursued by the Marathas, intended to retire to Surat, and the Mughal Governor of Surat was to be asked to prevent the Sidi from landing at that port. Shahu wished that the Nizam should write to the Governor to that purpose. Here, apparently, Shahu was either misinformed or ignorant of the facts. The Nizam had, from the very beginning of the Sidi-Maratha war, taken great interest in the fortunes of the Sidis, had in particular, shown personal favour to Sidi Sat, and it was expected that he would actively help the Sidis.[5] In such circumstances, it was too much to expect the Nizam to take any hostile measure against Sidi Sat.

Shahu's letter, unfortunately, like many such papers, bears no date. But when read along with other letters relating to this episode, it appears to have been written towards the end of 1735.

The text [6] of the English translation of the leter is as follows:–

"From Shahoo Maharaj to Nizamool Moolk

Your letter has arrived and I was extremely pleased.

Seedee Sad having fled from the *thanah* of Mahar [7] went to Rajpooree, but the Zungees not allowing him to land on the island, he departed and went to Bancoot, which is on the coast near Rajpooree, at the time when Oodajee Poor [8] arrived, having taken five gallivats[9] he sailed away. I have heard that he was going to the Bundar of Surat. As soon as the army of Oodajee Poor arrived after him, he exerted himself for five days, and storming the fort on all sides, the Sepoys carried it. The inhabitants, fearful of their lives, fled on board the gallivats, gurabs, hoorees which were without anchors and apparatus; many of which sank from extreme weight and many people were killed, and of them there did not remain one sign. And on my side Buggajee Madik,[10] the Sirdar of Armada, was killed by a ball from a Jazael, and forty men were killed and seventy wounded. Oodajee Poor having taken a large army is pursuing Sedee Sad by land. Wherever that ill-fortuned may go, there he will follow. You enjoin the Foujdar of the above-mentioned Bundur not to allow that rascal Sedee Sad to come there. From his coming all the Bundur will be deserted and destroyed".

5. *See Idem* Vol. 3 Letter Nos. 6, 43; Vol. 33 Letter No. 75, 79, 82 and 113.

6. I have reproduced the text without any changes whatsoever.

7. Mahad.

8. Powar or Pawar.

9. Kinds of vessels.

10. Bakaji Mahadik.

Nawab Umdat-ul-Omrah and the Court of the Recorder at Madras.

BY

K. SAJANN LAL, M. A., F. R. S. A.

BEFORE the year 1798, justice was administered at Madras by a Court of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, from which appeal lay to the Governor-in-Council. This arrangement continued to exist at Madras and Bombay much longer than at Bengal. A new Charter was granted which was published at Madras on 1st November, 1798. The Recorder's Court superseded the Mayor's Court. The records of the old Court became the records of the new Court. In place of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, the Court of the Recorder had a Recorder presiding over and three Aldermen. It determined not to have Pandits and Maulvis as refrees in Hindu and Muhammadan Law but rather to trust other sources of information.[1]

The levying of the money by European adventurers to Native Princes on exorbitant terms had long produced grave scandals in some of which Paul Benham was notoriously involved. Burke in one of his brilliant speeches exposed those scandals and cited the case of the Nawab of Arcot. That is why the Act of 1797, laid down an important provision which prohibits under severe penalties unauthorised loans by British subjects to the Native Princes of India.[2]

In this connection a letter written to the Nawab of Carnatic by John Whitehill, the Governor of Madras, regarding transactions of this nature is worth quoting.[3]

" May it please Your Highness,

I have the honour to transmit to your Highness, an extract of the Company's letter to this Government dated 6th June last, which I recommend to your attention. Your Highness will particularly observe how strictly they have forbid their servants and others under their protection from lending money to any of the Country Powers in India, or Persons holding Commissions under them to be repaid at a future period on Mortgages or

1. For full details of the Mayor's Court, read Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari's illuminating article " The Early Development of the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George," Journal of Madras University pp. 1-19'

2. Vide, Ilbert, " The Government of India" P. 71 & Lee Warner, " The Native States of India," p. 47.

3. From the Saeedia Library.

securities upon lands or from the Produce of any growing Revenues of the country.

I am in consequence of this prohibition and Orders of the Company to request Your Highness will not have or permit any dealings of this nature above mentioned with any of the Company's servants or with persons under the Company's protection."

I have the honour to be,
May it please Your Highness,
Your Highness' Most sincere,
Most obedient and most humble servant,
John Whitehill.

Fort St. George,
9th Nov, 1777.

Monetary transactions also figured in the Recorder's Court.

With this short introductory note on the Madras Recorder, I will proceed with a few cases that came before it.

Let us take the case, entitled "A corrupt Durbar Transaction," which was discussed at great length by this Court on 4th March and 30th April 1799. The facts of the case if shorn of its legal terminology are as follows :—

The Government of Madras having in 1779 taken possession of the Guntur Circar, Mr. Johnson being at that time a Member of the Council, overtures were made to him by the then Nawab, through the mediation of one Bhagvanloo, that if he would in Council promote the Nawab's interest of obtaining possession of the Circar, he would give him 50,000 Pagodas; that this being agreed to by Johnson, a bond was given by the Nawab for the money, which not being paid, was renewed and renewed again. In order to conceal the name of the Counciller, from such a transaction it was renewed in the name of Douglass. This case was dismissed.

The second case discusses whether a person in the service of the Nawab was entitled to privilege? Col. Thomas Barrett was served with a summon to appear on the 4th March. He filed an affidavit to the effect that he was the servant of the Nawab and was not concerned with trade.[4] He obtained a rule to show cause why the proceedings should not be set aside on the ground of privilege. He produced a certificate from the Nawab, which was in Persian

4. In this interesting paper, " Nawab Umdat-ul-Omarah of the Carnatic," (1795-1801) published in the History Congress Proceedings Aligarh Session, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari introduces Barrett with these words " We learn from Sawan-e-hayat-e-Mumtaz. that the Nawab was helped by a Eurasian, Mr. Barrett in the proper payments etc.," p. 259.

and proved as to the signature, by an affidavit sworn to by John Battley, the Nawab's Persian Translator.

This Certificate gives us an idea to what extent Nawab Umdat-ul-Omarah reposed confidence in Col. Barrett. It reads :—

"To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. We Omdat-ul-Omarah Wala Jah, Nawab of the Carnatic etc., do hereby certify, that Col. Thomas Barrett, inhabitant of Madras, has been upwards of 9 years last past, and is now really and truly retained in our service; and is now hath, for the space of 3 years upwards, been our principal confidential Secretary, and English Interpreter in the Affairs of our Government with the Honourable The United East India Company and others, with whom we have concerns and that he hath for such length of time and doth now actually perform the duties of such joint offices, and hath and doth receive from us a monthly Stipend, or salary, for the discharge thereof. And that his long, able, and faithful service, as well as knowledge of our private and public transactions render his Continuance in those character of the utmost importance to us, and our Affairs. Given under our hand the 24th day of Ramzan 1213 Hijry, corresponding with the 2nd Day of March, 1799.[5]

Thomas Barrett's plea filed on 6th April though lengthy but it is interesting to note how again and again, Barrett tried to prove that his Master Nawab Umdat-ul-Omarah was a sovereign power and as such independent. In other words his plea shows with what zeal and interest he emphasised the treaty rights of the Nawab. A few extracts are given here :—

" Thomas Barrett further says that the Nawabs of the Carnatic have been and still are acknowledged, recognised, and treated with as independent Sovereign Princes, as well by all the Native Powers in India, as by the Crown of Great Britain, and other Sovereign Powers in Europe and elsewhere; and also by the said United Company, acting under the liberties and privileges delegated, and given to them aforesaid. And the said Nawabs of the Carnatic for the time being, and His present Highness Umdat-ul-Omarah Bahadur, etc., the rightful and lawful Nawab of the Carnatic, and such, a sovereign independent Prince (not being a Christian) now holds and and enjoys large territorial possessions within the places of the trade of the said United Company, and particularly in the Carnatic, over which the said Nawab has, and continues to exercise, sovereign power and authority. And the said Thomas Barrett, further says "That His Highness Umdat-ul-Omarah Bahadur etc. has been, for a long space of time, to wit, for the space of three

5. Cases in the Court of the Recorder in Madras, pp.12-15.

years last, and upwards, and now is, the rightful and lawful Nawab of the Carnatic; and during the whole of that time has exercised and continues to exercise sovereignty, over the territorial possessions and dominions belonging to him as Nawab of the Carnatic, as aforesaid etc."[6]

What a strange coincidence? These very feelings, if I am permitted to say, have been expressed by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari when we read " The following picture of the Nawab is an attempt to evalute his views as to the effect of the British connection with his Government and state and reveal his ever-growing fear of an early extinction of the Carnatic State; and the stress is laid on the Nawab's maintenance of his rights as secured by treaties and his clinging to them with a vague, but despairing hope that they might be observed in his favour and lead to his State's survival."

There are other cases pertaining in some way or other to the Carnatic State such as that of Qadir Nawaz Khan.

This was an ejectment brought to recover possession of a house in the village of Poodoopankum, within the limits of Madras, which had been mortgaged to the lessors of the plaintiff by Qadir Nawaz Khan, the tenant in possession. Having been served with the usual notice to defend, he took the earliest opportunity of submitting to the Court his claim to have the proceeding set aside, grounded upon an affidavit in which he described himself as an attendant and servant of Nawab Umdat-ul-Omarah. He also produced a certificate to that effect. He stated that the residence of the Nawab was at Chepauk House within a mile of Fort St. George " for the purpose of the more easily connecting his (Nawab's) business in person with his Ally the Honorable English East India Company, instead of employing an ambassador or resident for that purpose." " That he the deponent was and had been ever since the accession of the Nawab to the musnad, the Lord Steward or manager of this Court, and was on that station under the necessity of attending, and that in fact he did attend daily at the durbar, and was essential to His Highness' service state dignity." The case was discussed at great length and it was insisted in reply that a prince coming into the dominions of another with the consent of the local government, for the purpose of conducting his affairs, was entitled to all the privileges of an ambassador. If a sovereign chooses to be his own ambassador it is competent to him to be so, and the consequence follows; he is entitled to exemption from process and so are his servants, while his functions continue.

Another case refers to the grain delivery by the Nawab in discharge of a war subsidy under a particular treaty (1797).

6. Cases in the Court of the Recorder in Madras, pp. 12-15.

There are other cases of equally great interest decided by the Court of the Recorder at Madras.

Rao Bahadur Professor C. S. Srinivasachari has given a good character sketch of Umdat-ul-Omarah. He refers to a letter which the Madras Council wrote to the Company as early as 4th July 1775, wherein they expressed their fear "that the Nawab might try to alter the succession in favour of his second son Amir-ul-Omarah, *whom he had entrusted with much power.*[7]

Indeed, 3 months earlier, Alexander Wynch, the Governor of Madras wrote a letter to the Nawab, wherein he expressed grave concern over Amir-ul-Omarah's being entrusted with too much power. His letter reads as follows[8] :—

"May it please Your Highness

Having received information that Your Highness has given or intends to give, the charge of the Fort and country of Tanjore, to His Excellency Ummeer-ul-Umarah the Duty I owe to the Company, and the interest I take in everything, which relates to the welfare of Your Highness and the Carnatic, induces me to point out to Your Highness, that it is a General Maxim in Politics, not to put too much Power into the hands of any one subject, and I am therefore to request that Your Highness will not in addition to what Ummeer-ul-Umrah already profesesess, namely the Command of Your Highness' numerous Forcees and the Collector of the Trichinopoly Revenues put into his hands the collection of the considerable revenues of Tanjore or the charge of the Fort and Garrison of that Kingdom.

As the Government has ever since the commencement of the convention between Your Highness and the Company manifested the Most ardent desire, of promoting the power and welfare of Your Highness and as it has no other wish in this than to induce you to act in the manner which may be consistent with the security of the Carnatic and of the Company's possessions which are so nearly connected with each other.

7. Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, op, cit pp. 254. Italic mine

8. This sealed letter and many other important documents, Firmans, the Will of Umdat-ul-Omaraha Maulvi's Fatwas, are found in the Saeedia Library. The writer gratefully acknowledges his thanks to Mr. Ghouse Mohammed, for kindly permitting him to use some of these documents.

I flatter myself that Your Highness will excuse the freedom of this Representation.

I have the Honour to be
with profound Respect
May it please Your Highness,
Your Highness,
Most sincere, Most obedient,
and Most humble servant
Sd/-Alexander Wynch"

Fort. St. George
7th. April 1775.

The very same year when the Madras Recorder was superseded by the Supreme Court, Umdat-ul-Omarah died (15th July 1801). There arose a crop of litigation where the Court had to decide such questions.

How far a member of the Nawab's family is entitled to privileges ? Whether an illegitimate nephew, not living with him, is entitled to be considered for this purpose as one of the family ? Whether the Nawab could be considered as a sovereign, entitled to the rights of an ambassador ? Whether any member of this family could take advantage of them?

The object of writing this article is to bring to the notice of scholars, the important material looked up in the offices and records of the various Courts. The Saeedia Library possesses invaluable material specially dealing with the Nawabs of Arcot which should be tapped by scholars.

Nizam Ali Khan and the Blank Farman

BY

K. SAJUN LAL, M. A., F. R. S. A. (HYDERABAD. DECCAN).

AFTER the defeats suffered by the confedrate army of Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali Khan at Changama and Trinomali, the Calcutta and Madras Governments seriously considered the proposal of dethroning Nizam Ali Khan.[1] Mr. Verelst contemplated a measure as regards the dethronement of Nizam Ali Khan, which reads somewhat strangely today. The facts are that Nizam Ali Khan had rather proved refractory. He had joined Haidar Ali in his war against the English at Madras. Therefore Verelst proposed to punish him and wanted to set up another candidate as the Subedar of the Deccan.

Verelst procured a grant from the Mughal Emperor. The name of the person to whom the grant was to be made was left blank. The English Government at Madras were told to depose Nizam Ali Khan and set up another in his place. They were at liberty to fill up the blank in the grant with the name of a new Nizam. This measure is fully explained in the following extract from a general letter.

"By letters sometime since received from the gentlemen at Madras, it appears that they had laboured under great difficulties on the nomination of a Subah to the Moghul province of the Deccan, in case Nizam Ali should by an obstinate perseverance in his unjust measures oblige them to deprive him of his government and they were even pleased to request our opinion in a matter of so great importance. We expressed ourselves with that unreserved freedom which we wish may mutually subsist between the two Presidencies and judging it expedient to secure the King's Firman for the nomination of some other person, our President was desired to apply for the same to His Majesty who has been pleased to comply with the request; and in a letter lately received from him, he promised to despatch a blank firman within five days of the date thereof to be filled with the name of any person, we may judge most proper, for the security and lasting tranquility of your possession on the coast. This is a power we should be loth to avail ourselves of, excepting in the case of the utmost necessity, and such we fear this will prove, if we can form our judgement from the present situation of affairs."[2]

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1. For details read Prof. N. K. Sinha's article "A blank Farman" published in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Record's commission, pp. 31-34

2. J. Talboys and Wheeler, " Early Records of British India, p. 83.

The Madras Government which too had a hand in mooting this proposal, fortunately, had to think twice before acting. Better judgemen t prevailed and they openly flouted Verelst's order, when circumstances changed. In fact their judgemedt proved more sound. Later on the Board of Director too approved their policy and condemned in strong terms Verelst's measure as contrary to their policy. Therefore they ordered the firman to be cancelled.

The Court of Directors characterised this proposal as " wild" and observed, " Much has been wrote from you and our servants in Bengal on the necessity of checking the Marathas which may in some degree be proper, but it is not for the English East India Company to take the part of the umpire in Indostan. If it had not been for the imprudent measure you have taken, the country powers would have formed a balance of power amongst themselves and their quarrels would have left you at peace". [1]

But Verelst was so convinced of the expediency of this measure that a year afterwards, he expressed his regret that it had not been put into practice. He opined thus:—

" I could have wished the gentlemen on the coast had been more deeply impressed with this idea, so that the reinforcements sent from Bengal instead of being scattered and dismembered might have struck the important blow we meditated against the Suba. In this case Hyderabad, weak and defenceless, must have fallen an easy prey before the Nizam could have even received intelligence of the expedition ; and as the capture must have been more universally enforced a conviction of our power to the dangerous restitution of it to a repenting enemy must have highly exalted our moderation and disinterestedness."[2]

This speaks for itself.

1. Vide, A. C. Banerjee " Peshwa Madhav Rao I p. 104, footnotes.

2. Verelst, The English Government in Bengal etc. Appendix p. 106 Edition 1772 A. D.

Some unpublished letters of Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah

BY

DR. YUSUF HUSAIN, D. LITT. HYDERABAD-DN.

THE object of this paper is to bring to light some of the unpublished and rare letters of Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah, the great scholar-statesman of the Deccan. Samsamud Daulah, the minister of Nasir Jung and later Wakil-e-Mutlaq of Salabat Jang is equally famous as the author of Maasir-ul-Umara, tha valuable and voluminous biographical dictionary of Mughal peerage. He was a first class literary stylist. Hence the importance of the collection of his letters both on account of his high political and literary position.

The collection of his letters in the Persian Manuscript Section of the Asafia Library contains valuable information regarding the contemporary political events. One Manuscript copy of the letters or Makatib is casually attached to 'Insha-e-Musavi Khan,' Number 201, (Insha), and the other is equally casually attached to the Manuscript copy of 'Baharistan-e-Sukhan,' Number 193 (Tazkira), without any specific mention of the Makatib either in the catalogue or in the Manuscript volumes themselves. I have compared both the copies of the Makatib and found them practically identical except for some slight verbal differences.

The collection consists of Shah Nawaz Khan's official and private correspondence which covers a pretty long and historically important period in the history of the Deccan. As some of the letters and petitions are addressed to such personalities as Alamgir II, the Mughal Emperor, Nasir Jung, Peshwa Balaji Rao, Syed Lashkar Khan, Malhar Rao Holkar and Dupleix, they are historically of great value.

The letters and petitions are of varying length. Some of them bear sub-titles indicative of the subject treated therein. The collection contains 66 letters and petitions in all as detailed below:—

1.	to Alamgir II, the Mughal Emperor.
3.	to Firuz Jung, Wazirul Mamalik.
2.	to Raja Kesho Rao, royal courier.
5.	to Nasir Jung.
2.	to Peshwa Balaji Rao.
2.	to Malhar Rao Holkar.
1.	to Dupleix.
1.	to Syed Lashkar Khan(Ruknud Daulah Naseer Jung)

5. to Amanat Khan
3. to Qutbud Daulah Muhammad Anwar Khan
1. to Khusrow Jung Bahadur
1. to Qavi Jung Bahadur
1. to Ahmed Ali Khan
2. to Maharaja Arjun Bahadur
1. to Qazi Kamaluddin
1. to Shah Wali
1. to Rai Sambhu Lal
1. to Naseeruddin Ali Khan
11. to Dilawar Khan Bahadur
11. to Mir Ghulam Ali Azad
2. to Mir Muhammad Husain Khan
1. to Syed Ghulam Hasan
1. to Muhammad Aslam Khan

The English translation of two of these letters along with their historical interpretation is given below:—

The petition addressed to Alamgir II, the Mughal Emperor runs thus:—

"Abdur Razzaq[1] who considers himself to be smaller than the atoms of dust, prostrates his forehead of devotion and begs access to touch the foot of the royal throne. The Royal Farman, accompanied by a special writ and gifts, has honoured the devoted servant beyond description. The happy news that one's desire shall find fulfilment, has opened the doors of felicity to hope. It is gratifying that in the beginning of the spring of the happy reign, right counsel given by the wise, who have access to the Royal throne, found due appreciation. The devoted servant full of humility and solicitation desires heartily to accompany the Royal stirrups and thus be able to exert himself in the Royal Service. But in accordance with the Royal command which is of a piece with life and faith, the devoted servant would continue to serve in the interest of the Exalted Court as a means of his own salvation in the two worlds In future also whatever the Exalted Commands might be, they would be carried out punctiliously and should be considered as a justification for his self-exaltation. May the benign shadow remain over the head of all the devoted servants for ever."

This letter was probably written sometime in 1754 just after Shah Nawaz Khan succeeded Syed Lashkar Khan as Diwan and Wakil-e-Mutlaq of Salabat Jung. It was in the same year that Emperor Ahmed Shah was blinded and triumphant Imadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan, grand-son of Nizamul Mulk Asaf-Jah I and patron of Shah Nawaz Khan set up Alamgir II as the Mughal Emperor. Imadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan's rival, the redoubtable

1. Name of Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah.

Safdar Jung, after wielding power for six years, was forced to retire to Oudh where he was destined to found a dynasty.

It was probably at the instance of Imadul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jung that Shah Nawaz Khan got in touch with the Emperor who bestowed on him Mahi-Maratib (the Fish Insignia), an honour of which the privilege was specially conferred on princes and great nobles. For the conferment of the rare honour on Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah the chronogram was found in the hemistiche از شاه هند آمد ماهی و هم مراتب (1116 S Hijri).

Letter addressed to Monsieur Dupleix :—

" Praise be to Almighty !

I consider you to be unique in sympathy and benevolence. We are sure that you want improvement and tranquility in our affairs just as we want in yours. During the time that the Mughal Emperor has lain low at the hands of the Marathas, the latters' pride has increased hundredfold. So far as our administration is concerned we do not find ourselves in a position to undertake conquest or realise tribute from others owing to lack of resources and excess of expenditure on salaried persons of which the details may be known later. Now it seems impossible to realise the tribute from Seringapatam on which our prosperity is dependent. Unless a tour is undertaken after the rainy season, the country can not remain in a state of tranquillity and the opposition crushed. As there prevails complete friendship and harmony between us it should be feasible to advance us a loan of ten or fifteen lakhs of rupees so that we could conciliate the soldiery and undertake expeditions. Otherwise, there is danger of the country shrinking and the resources getting attenuated beyond recovery. As you know, we on our part paid the contribution promised by Muzaffar Jung which was not a small sum. I should like to assure you that after completing the general organization of the administration there will not be any negligence or delay towards the payment of the loan. Your fame will spread far and wide for helping us with an army under Monsieur Bussy and also for offering us monetary help at such a critical moment. This will be taken as the tribute of the Carnatic by some people. But if the loan is advanced the soldiery will find a basis for hope, the enemy will be overawed and the government shall regain its lost confidence.

You might realise this in justice that we have foregone for your sake thirty-two lakhs of rupees annually which would be one crore and thirty lakhs in four years. It was in consideration of your interest that we even refused to receive fifteen lakhs from Muhammad Ali of Arcot and twenty lakhs from the English in the form of cash or draft cheques (tip). It is against reason and expediency to give away portion of the state which is like a mole on the fair face of the Deccan. In this connection let us know whatever you

consider to be right and proper. As a true friend it would be in the fitness of things to give us full authority as a free agent to do what is expedient in the circumstances. Hope that you will give us the benefit of your valuable advice in detail which will be a means of comforting us a great deal".

In this letter several issues are raised. First is the bankruptcy of the state. When Shah Nawaz Khan succeeded Syed Lashkar Khan in the Diwanship in 1751, the state was practically bankrupt. The state-finances had reached such a low ebb that even the ruler had to go without money. According to Hadiqatul Alam "when Samsamud-Daulah assumed the reins of Wikalat-e-Mutlaq the government of Nawab Salabat Jung was in extreme financial straits. Salabat Jung's household objects were sold to meet the expenses of the palace. Samsamud Daulah by his wonderful management succeeded in easing the financial difficulties. It would be apt to say that by his masterly touch he made the dry river flow again.[1]"

It was in these circumstances that Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah asked for a loan from Dupleix. But the latter, although he believed that the French prestige should be maintained in the Deccan even if it were at the cost of diplomatic and military defeat in the Carnatic, could not be of much help to Samsamud Daulah. After the failure of the second seige of Trichinopoly by the French in 1753, Dupleix lacked in calm judgement. His prestige was waning; his power was about to be annihilated. His financial condition was none too good. His country had lost confidence in him. Probably Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamud Daulah's letter reached Pondichery some time when the orders of his recall and Godeheu's appointment to the Governorship of the French settlements in India were already issued by the French Government.

In this letter there is also a hint about Bussy's galling interference in administrative matters. We know on authority that after his return to Hyderabad in 1753, the whole attitude of Bussy had undergone a change. He had compelled Syed Lashkar Khan to sign an agreement ceding the Sarkars of Guntur, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Chicacole for the support of the French army. Although Bussy tacitly engaged himself to support Syed Lashkar Khan in the office of Diwan but very soon he created such a situation that

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۱ چہ وقتیکہ وکالت مطلق با و مقرر شد سرکار نواب امیر الممالک عجب حالتے داشت کہ از بے زری نوبت بہ فروخت اثاث البیت رسیدہ بود ۔ نواب صمصام الدولہ نوع حسن تردد نمود کہ آب رفتہ بہ جو آمد (حدیقۃ العالم، جلد ۲ صفحہ ۲۳۹)

Syed Lashkar Khan got so disconcerted that he sent in his resignation and retired into private life. Shah Nawaz Khan succeeded him.

Bussy's interference continued even during the Ministership of Shah Nawaz Ali Khan. It was due to this that the latter was compelled to organize the Anti-French party with the help of Mir Nizam Ali Khan. The party aimed at keeping Bussy at a distance from the management of State affairs. The repeated defeats of the French in the Carnatic shook Salabat Jung's confidence in the French. At Shah Nawaz Khan's instance he opened secret negotiations with the English which culminated in the treaty of Masulipatam entered into between Salabat Jung and the East India Company in May, 1759.

The Political Parties at Nizam Ali Khan's Darbar

BY

MIR MAHMOOD ALI, M. A. (Hyderabad-Dn.)

NIZAMUL MULK, the founder of the Asafjahi dynasty was a distinguished general and a born statesman. He was appointed as subedar of the Deccan in 1713. His repeated efforts to save the Delhi Sultanate having failed he resolved to save his own province of the Deccan, of which he was the de-facto ruler from 1724 onwards. He restored the Mughal conquests in the Deccan, crushed the Marathas, and established peace and order in the country. His dominions extended all over the Deccan and he was really an independent sovereign.

On the death of Nizamul Mulk in 1748, the war of succession began between his second son Nasir Jung and his grandson Muzaffar Jung. This was the opportunity for the French and the English to interfere in the political affairs of the Deccan. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry supported the claims of Muzaffar Jung and the English offered their services to Nasir Jung. In this war Nasir Jung was assasinated and Muzaffar Jung met the same fate. Afterwards, with the help of the French, Salabat Jung, the third son of Nizamul Mulk became the ruler of the Deccan. But as Hollingbery puts it, " Salabat Jung, a prince deficient both in personal courage and sagacity"[1] was dethroned at Bidar in 1761 and Nizam Ali Khan, the fourth son of Nizamul Mulk became the king of the Deccan as Asafjah II.

Nizam Ali Khan ruled over the Deccan for a long time, extending over forty-two years. Salabat Jung towards the close of his reign had sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Marathas, and according to the treaty of Udgir in 1760, most of the provinces of the Deccan had gone into the hands of the Marathas.[2] When Nizam Ali Khan ascended the Masnad in 1761, there was neither former area of the state left nor there was any prestige of the ruler[3] Riots and rebellions were rampant in the country. Such was the internal condition of the state. As far as friendly foreign policy is concerned, it was a fact that there were no relations with the neighbouring countries of the Marathas, Mysore or the Carnatic. The French were very influential at the Deccan Court and they were intriguing against the Hyderabad State

1. Hollingbery's History of Nizam Ali Khan page 32
2. Tuzzaki Asafia P. 112, and Siyarul Mutakhereen Vol III P. 902.
3. The Nizam, his History and relations with the British Govt. by H.G. Briggs. P. 63.

to promote their selfish ends. Hyderabad was not on friendly relations with the English. Nizam Ali Khan had thus to solve many thorny problems.

We find that there was a sort of balance of power in the later half of the 18th Century, between the Marathas, Mysore and the English. If two of these powers had united against the third, then the very existence of the third power was in danger. It is a fact that national politics is based on selfish motives. Therefore the Hyderabad State had to keep all these things in view, and maintain the balance of Power in the Deccan.

The Marathas from the very beginning were hostile towards Hyderabad State. Tippu Sultan of Mysore was becoming very powerful. If Tippu Sultan and the Marathas were to lead a combined invasion upon Hyderabad then Hyderabad would have been utterly powerless to face them. Therefore, Nizam Ali Khan agreed to entertain an alliance with the English.[1] Cornwallis, who was then the Governor-general of Bengal, formed a triple alliance, against Tippu Sultan with the Marathas and the Nizam,[2] The aim. of Asaf Jah II in joining the triple alliance was to be safe from the Marathas. Thus the third Mysore war was fought in which the allies were successful.

During Sir John Shore's Governor-generalship the Marathas, one of the members of the triple alliance, invaded Hyderabad State which was another member of the alliance. The English were bound by the Treaty to help Hyderabad, but owing to the prevailing policy of non-intervention, Sir John Shore refused to interfere on behalf of Hyderabad State against the formidable Marathas, with the result that Hyderabad had to suffer a defeat at Khardala.[3] This naturally incensed Nizam Ali Khan, who dismissed the English officers in his armies for some time. He entertained the French and under M. Raymond new sepoys were recruited. The services rendered by M. Raymond were highly rewarded. Thus M. Raymond was most popular figure and was at the zenith of his power. This was during the last decade of the 18th Century when the Deccan came once more under the influence of the French.

In February, 1796, all of a sudden Nizam Ali Khan got ill and the question of his succession arose. There were at least four parties at the Darbar, whose aims were at variance with one another. The result was chaos. First and foremost there was the party of the heir-apparent Sikandar Jah. The prince had a strong liking for the French. He was a staunch supporter of Raymond, and considered

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1. Malcolm's Political History of India Vol. I P. 84
2. Auber's Rise and progress of British Power in India Vol. II P. 66
3. Owen's Despatches of Wellesley P. L. XXV
4. Our Faithful Ally the Nizam P. 192.

him useful for himself. He used to swear by M. Raymond's head. In this way Sikandar Jah's party was highly in favour of the French, and wanted to have a firm friendship with the French. There was the Paigah party, which did not like the English and therefore they also favoured the French.

There were some people at the Darbar who wanted to have an alliance with Tippu Sultan[1]. There was one more party which supported the Marathas. The most influential party was in favour of reviving friendship with the English. The leaders of this party were the most prominnt persons like Azamul-Umara-Arastu Jah, and Mir Alam. It was an opportune time for this party as the French general M. Raymond had died the same year and the supporters of the French had lost faith in them. Fortunately for the English, Wellesly had become the Govener-general of India and in the same year a treaty of mutual help and friend ship was concluded. By this Treaty the French were dismissed from the Hyderabad State.

Then in the year 1800, the famous treaty of Subsidiary Alliance was concluded, which forms the basis on which today the relations between the Faithful Ally, the Nizam, and the British Crown are based.

Thus we find that the reign of Nizam Ali Khan was a revolutionary period, when the very foundations of the State were shaking. It was by the sagacity, far-sighted policy and statesmanship of Asaf Jah II that the state of Hyderabad was not only saved, but was firmly established. Thus Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II was the true builder and saviour of the Hyderabad State.

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1. Our Faithful Ally the Nizam P. 192.

Hand made paper industry in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions in the 18th and 19th Centuries

BY

SYED BADSHAH HUSSAIN, (HYDERABAD-DN.)

HAND made paper industry is a very old industry of India. The handmade paper of Kashmir was as famous in the east as the muslin of Dacca was known throughout the Orient. But as we are concerned here with the development of this industry in the Deccan we have to trace the progress from the times of Sultan Allauddin Khilji who, it is told, brought the artisans from Delhi to Deogiri, the present Daulatabad in or about the last decade of the thirteenth century A. D. This was just the beginning. But when Mohammed Bin Tughlaq attempted to shift his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1338 A. D. the handmade paper makers of Delhi were brought to Daulatabad in greater number and they were made to establish this industry on a firm ground. The Kaghazis, as the paper makers were called, first established their factories within the Daulatabad Fort, but later on they were provided with suitable lands outside the rampart of the Fort. An interesting anecdote is connected with the shifting of the factories. It is told that one of the favourite harams of the Sultan complained against the noise made by the paper makers during the process of paper making not only in the day time but at night also which caused a disturbance to the lady. The Sultan, as a result, ordered that the Kaghazis should be shifted outside the Fort but care should be taken to provide all possible facilities to them. Afterwards the industry was maintained by the Kaghzis themselves until the reign of Aurangzeb who gave fresh impetus to the industry by granting concessions to the Kaghazis. Here I may be allowed to refer to a legend which says that a cradle made out of handmade paper was presented to the Emperor who was very much pleased to see that it supported the weight of a child.

Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah I followed in the footsteps of the three Great Emperors. But Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Asaf JahII took great interest and exerted his personal influence to better the conditions of the Kaghazis and the paper industry. As we are especially interested in this period we would very much like to refer

to some of the important sanads and Firmans issued by Mir Nizam Alikhan. There are some valuable documents preserved to this day in the records of the Dafter-e-Divani, Mal and Mulki which throw light on this aspect. The first document which I would like to refer here is a Sanad issued under the seal of Sam Sam-ul-Mulk, the then Premier, on the 22nd Shaaban 16th regnal year, i. e. 1189 H. The Sanad was granted to exempt the paper manufacturers and dealers of Kaghazi pura, Daulatabad, from some of the taxes. The Gumashtas of Jagirs and Karoris etc. were made known of the fact that the Kaghazis were allowed to take waters from the adjacent reservoir and to construct pools for the purpose of paper making without paying the water-tax and that they were allowed to import raw materials free of customs duty.

Another document which may be mentioned here is a draft of the Parwana addressed to the Zamindars of the Pargana Haveli-e-Daulatabad wherein Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan had granted concessions in pursuance of the old Sanads and Firmans. He was so much personally interested in this industry that in an order issued on the 17th Muharram 1195 H., he very graciously accorded permission to the Kaghazis of the Kaghaziwara for making special variety of paper to be named after the Nizam himself.

The most interesting document which I could find on this subject is a memorandum on the estimate of Rs. 2,696/8/-for 506 gaddis[1] of different varieties and qualities of paper prepared under the supervision of Sikander Yar Jung and Md. Abdul Lateef Khan and purchased for the Government use in the reign of Nawab Sikander Jah (1803-1829 A. D.). The date of this paper is 15th Zikada 1225 H. The memorandum records 7 varieties of paper together with their existing prices, the details of which are given below.

Afshan or — Sprinkled white	Muhra dar or — glazed.	Bhongiri numa
10 Gaddis	60 Gaddis	325 Gaddis
Rs. 7/8 per gaddi	Rs. 5/- per gaddi	Rs. 5/- per gaddi
Sharbati —	Bahadur Khani —	Muhradar Gujrati numa
100 gaddis	One gaddi	8 gaddis
Rs. 3/2 per gaddi	Rs. 30/- per gaddi	Rs. 30 per gaddi
Qasim Begi		
2 gaddi		
Rs. 15/- per gaddi		

1. One gaddi is approximately half a ream.

Before closing this very brief survey of the industry I must make a mention of the fact that Kaghziwara or Kaghazipura of Daulatabad was not the only village where handmade paper was manufactured. There were more or less six places in the Dominions viz. Ellora, Gurud, Koratla, Warangal, Medak and the City of Hyderabad where this industry flourished. But it should be made known here that more or less the Kaghazis of Daulatabad were pioneers and as a matter of fact promoters of this industry. Even to this day handmade paper is made in these different places. The Government of Hyderabad is still alive to the need for extending patronage to the Kaghazis. Rag, hemp and waste-paper are being supplied to this day to the Kaghazis. Bambu pulp is also being supplied and the results have been found very encouraging. Necessary chemicals have been purchased by the Government and are being distributed to the paper-makers according to their requirements. These efforts of the Government have resulted in making up the acute shortage of mill-made paper during the war time.

Some Aspects of the History of the N. Circars During the Period 1724–1774

BY

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AT the fall of the great Empire of Auragzeb, Godavary District formed a portion of the province of Golconda which was one of the 22 Provinces composing the SUBHA of the Deccan. It was taken by Qamuruddin Asafjah I., who was the greatest of the Nizams who fixed his capital at Hyderabad and showed nominal allegience to Delhi. Golconda comprised the Nawabships of Arcot, Kurnool, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. The Nizam made Anwaruddin (father of Muhammad Ali of the Carnatic), the Nawab of the two latter districts. His administration was strong and severe. He was helped by an energetic subordinate Rustumkhan who ruled at Rajahmundry as Nawab. His iron rule is thus described by James Grant (See page 223 Godavari Dt. Gaz.):—"At length the memorable *battle of Shuckerkerd in 1724* gave a transient repose to the Deccan and transferred in fact, though not in form, the sovereignty of this great limb of Moghul Empire to Asafjah. Great were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of Rustumkhan who, from 1732 for seven years, ruled with the most ample delegated sway at Rajahmundry with the other four Southern Provinces. There, the zamindras availed themselves of the surrounding distractions on the death of Aurangzeb (1707) to usurp the rights and feeble authority of their Mohammadan Superintendents. To correct these dangerous abuses and restore the necessary froms of internal administration were the arduous tasks assigned to the new Jilladar; the conduct of the man so fully justifies the Nizam's choice that even to this day it is held in general as an example worthy of imitation for necessary policy, considerable humanity, and riged and universal justice. At the same time, as the zamindars defrauded the public treasury and as they squeezed, with the iron hand of oppression, the industrious husbandmen and manufacturers the first object of Rustumkhan's government was a total extirpation of such merciless tyrants. Those who escaped the sword were proclaimed as traitors and a reward offered for their own, with their adherents' heads. A sufficient number was soon

collected to erect two of those shocking pyramidical monuments called 'kullaminar' near each of the provincial capitals' for one of which kind, the cruelty of Nadar Shah is held in Europe so justly in abhorrence. The inhabitants in general feared and admired him and the severe administration of Rustumkhan which he now further distinguished by substituting Amins or temporary collectors in the room of the refractory zamindars was proverbial for exemplary excellence in the Northern Circars." We learn the following facts from local Kaifiyets, Ballads and Estate Records:—

Asafjah ruled from 1724 to 1748 under the title of Nizam-ul-mulk as the independent viceroy at Hyderabad. He divided the Deccan Subadary into 22 Paraganas ef which Rajamundry was one. As already stated he appointed Anwaruddin as Nawab of Rajahmundry and Chicacole Circars, and this Anwaruddin appointed a Turkish Officer working under him named Haji Hussain alias Rustumkhan as Nawab of Rajamundry District and empowered him to collect the arrears of revenues from the zamindars of the Circars. Rustumkhan therefore resolved to enter on his duties which were unpleasant. From the local ballad, the *song of Rayaparaju*, it appears that Rustum and his son Nuruddin were both formerly employed in Peddapur Estate under the Jagapathies, as the rulers of the *Samasthanam* (Estate) were called, in the 17th Century. Owing to reasons of policy and ambition, Rustum-Khan left Peddapur, appoached Nawab Anwaruddin for service and by pleasing him got himself raised to the Nawabship of Rajahmundry which office he held from 1732 to 1739 A. D. He was a very firm, just, and hard task-master. The then condition of the Circars was chaotic. Civil strife among the zamindars and their oppression of the weak peasants and absence of all law and order were rampant. The following are the chief causes:—(1) fall of Gajapathis of Kalinga. (2) Fall of Vijayanagar as a result of of its defeat at Tallikot in 1565. (3) Invasion of N. Circars by Golconda Nawabs (4) Scramble for power among the local Rajahs. Under these circumstances, Rustum had to discharge his duties and overcome very powerful enemies, but this was naturally disliked by the zamindar of Mogaliturru called Kalidindi Ramaraju and the Zamindar of Nuzvid called Rao Subbanna who joined their forces and fought twice with the Khan with a view to prevent him from establishing himself at Rajahmundry. This was in 1734. The *Mogaliturru Kaifiyat*, a local record collected by Mackenzie states that when the Mogaliturru zamindar failed to oppose Rustumkhan successfully, he fled bag and baggage from the Estate. Along with the rulers of Nuzvid he reached Peddapur which was then ruled by a lady, Ragamma (wife of Vatsavayi Jagapathiraju) who was the regent of her son Timmaraju (1714 to 1734, vide Paddapur Samsthana charitra) and again attacked the

Khan at Rajahmundry, but in vain. This time they reached Pithapur, then under the rule of Rao Venkata Krishnarao. But the Khan getting scent of this pursued them to Pithapur in 1735 and hence they, along with the ruler of Pithapur, fled into Thotapally Agency to raise a rebellion with the help of Konda-Reddies (Hillmen) The *Samalkota Kaifiyat* informs us that all, except Butchanna, a relative of the Pithapur ruler, died in the Agency while Butchanna was arrested and killed by the Khan. After gaining this victory, Rustum reached Peddapur with a view to take revenge on its rulers who gave help to his enemies, the rulers of Mogaliturru and Nuzvid. But knowing the strength of the fort and the difficulties of siege-warfare, he had recourse to a wily stratagem. The *Kimmur Kaifiyat* tells us that the Khan sent his own son Nuruddin Hussain who was a playmate and friend of the two minor Rajahs of Peddapur, with a letter to Rangamma, the queen-mother in which he praised her just rule and the glories of the ancient and great estate and begged her to send her two sons for an interview with him so that the enjoyment of the estate my be permanently confirmed on them. The queen who confided in the innocent words of Nuruddin and who did not suspect any treachery sent her two sons, Timmaraju and Balabhadraraju with only two or three attendents along with Nuruddin, who really did not know the real mind of his own father. The interview was as brief and effective as it was tragical and treacherous, because the two young princes were soon burnt to death with boiling oil. The news reached the queen's ears. Thinking that all was over and afraid of the consequence of the fall of the fort, the whole harem made a *Jauhar*. But the queen before her death managed to send away the infant son of her elder son, called Jagapathy, aged only 7 months from out of the fort through a trusted female Brahmin servent. The child was destined to reach his relative, the ruler of Vijayanagaram, Pusapati Vijayaramaraj but on the very day the infant was detected and imprisoned at Pithapur. Rustumkhan after reducing the Peddapur fort and leaving a garrison there marched against Pithapur but there he was killed treacherously by his own son Nuruddin Hussain Khan who did not like the cruel ways of his father. He also reported the event to Anwarddin who praised him for the deed and conferred the Nawabship of Rajamundry on him and even encouraged him to subdue the Chicacole Circar. While Nuruddin reached Chebrole on his way to Kalinga, the army of Vijayaramaraju of Vijayanagaram (the Rajah heard of the fall of Peddapur fort and the imprisonment of the royal infant at Pithapur) was upon him. The *Pusapati Kaifiyet* tells us that in the battle of Chebrole, Nuruddinkhan was killed and as a result, the royal infant was saved and taken to Vijayanagar. But the Peddapur Estate which fell into Mohammaden hands for the first time in 1734 soon began to decline.

Rustumkhan must be praised for his military exploits, clever tactics and just and wise policy. He put down greedy Zamindars and helped the poor cultivators. He replaced the former by *Amins* so that he might regularly get the taxes due. He gave grants of lands to poets, village officers, and other servants and the Persian Firman of Hejira 1146 proves the same. The donee of this Firman Atchanna Kulkarni was rewarded probably for his loyal and faithful services. Atchanna as well as Antanna referred to in the grant, seem to be related to Lakshmanna or Yenugu Lakshmana Kavi who was a court-poet of the Peddapur rulers about this period. Rustum announced large rewards for the capture of rebels and conferred titles on such of the proprietors who readily paid their taxes and helped him with men and supplies. During his seven years of iron and bloody regime, the only black act was the treacherous killing of the Peddapur princes. But this statement which is found in all the Kaifiyats or local records as well as the ballads is refuted by the following statement found in the Godavary District Gazetteer:— "The line of descent (Peddapur) was unbroken till 1734 when the estate was ruled by Rangamma who was *defeated* near Peddapur by Rustumkhan for helping the chiefs of Ellore, Mogaliturru and Pithapur".[1]

The N. Circars formed a part of the great Vijayanagar Empire till the battle of Tallikota in 1565. Owing to the victory gained by the Muhamadans then N. Circars passed, as stated above, into the hands of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda and remianed under their sway for more than a century. At the end of the reign of Abul Hussein Qutub Shah (1672-1688) Golkonda, was taken by Aurangzeb in 1687 and made a part of the Moghal Empire. Henceforward Rajamundry, and Chicacole Circars also passed under Moghul control. To rule over these newly conquered countries, Aurangazeb appointed a Viceroy or Subehdar for the Deccan. After Aurangazeb's death in 1707, the Moghal Empire began to decline and Qumruddin Asaf Jah who remained a Viceroy under the Moghals till 1723, became independent and ruled over the Deccan till 1748 A.D. with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Subah of Golconda which comprised Arcot, Kurnool, Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars came under his control and he appointed Nawabs to rule over the several divisions. Anwarddin was thus appointed as the Nawab of Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars. He, in his turn, appointed Rustumkhan as a general under him to collect the arrears of tribute from the several Zamindars of Rajamundry and Chicacole divisions. I have alrady described the

1 For preparing the account, I have consulted the Kaifiyats of Samalkot, Kimoor, Korukonda, Pusapati (Vizianagaram), Mogaliturru Kondavidu and Peddapura Charitra and Review thereon, as well as some Persian Firmans and Original letters of the E. I Co., in English. The Kaddregula family history and letters have also helped me in the matter.

seven year's rule (1732-1739) of Rustumkhan over Godavari District. He was murdered for his cruel deeds, by his own son, Nuruddin Hussain who was appointed to collect arrears from both the Rajamundry and Chicacole (Kalingam) division. As he was proceeding to the north, PusapatiPeda Vijaya Rama Razu of Vizianagaram who heard of the base murder of Timma Razu of Peddapur and of the imprisonment of his minor son Jagapathy Razu met him with a large force and defeated and killed him near Chebrole in the Godavari District.

He then brought up Jagapathy Razu along with his brother's son Ananda Razu at Vizianagaram till in 1749, he reinstated him as Raja of Peddapur with the permission of the Amindar, Nizamat Ally. But, on hearing this news, Jaffer Ally, the Nawab of Mustafanagar (Kondapalli), Ellore, Rajmundry and Chicacole Circars got angry and attacked the fort of Peddapur, but in vain. It was at this time that, owing to the death of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam, in 1748 civil war broke out at Hyderabad between the Nizam's second son, Nasir Jang and his nephew Mirjapha Jang. (Muzaffar). The two parties applied for help to the English and the French respectively. The war which ensued is known as the second Carnatic war (1748-1754). The defeat and death of Nasir Jang and the accession to the throne of Mirjapha Jang who did not live long after this are well known events. The French General, Bussy proclaimed the third son of Asaf Jah, Salabat Jang by name, as the Subedhar of the Deccan. The latter therefore granted the N. Circars to the French so that with the revenues raised out of them they might maintain their troops (1752-1753). With a view to obtain possession of the newly ceded Circars, General Bussy deputed Mons, Moracain with a body of troops. But Jaffar Ally Khan who was now governor of Rajahmundry and Chicacole Circars refused to allow the French to take possession of them and pursuaded the Zamindar of Vizianagaram and Bobbili Viz., Peda Vijayarama Gajapathi and Rangarao Bahadur respectively, to help him in his task. But Monsicur. Moracain secretly made a treaty with the Zamindar of Vizianagaram by which he agreed to rent the two Circars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole to him at a lower rate than before. On knowing this, Ranga Rao of Bobbili(Chicacole Circar)

resolved to drive out the French at any cost. Meanwhile, Bussy, on hearing of a Mahratta invasion, reached Rajahmundry in the middle of 1754 but soon after left for Aurangabad. However he soon returned at the end of 1756 to Rajahmundry with a view to put down the rebellious Zamindars and in particular, Bobbili.

From Rajamundry, he moved on against the Fort of Bobbili along with the forces of Peddapur and Vizianagar. In January 1757, the famous battle of Bobbili was fought in which both Rangarao and Vijaya Ramaraju were killed. The ballad of Bobbili gives the causes and results of this battle. On hearing this news, Vijayaramaraju's elder brother's son, by name Ananda Raju ressolved to break off the treaty made with the French and to drive them out of N. Circars by inviting the English. This was due to the rebuke given by Mons. Bussy to him. He wrote to the English General, Robert Clive at Calcutta who sent Colonel Forde to help him. Both of them then entered into a treaty by which (1) All the countries which would be conquered in future should be handed over to the Raja of Vijayanagar for collecting rents. (2) All seaports and towns situated in the River mouths should be handed over to the English. (3) The Raja of Vizianagar should give to the English monthly a sum of a Rs. ½ a lakh for maintaining the army and Rs. 6,000 towards expenses of officers. (4) The lands under the control of either party should not be sold or given away without the consent of both. (5) They should unite their armies and defeat the French and drive them out of N. Circars.

Having made this treaty both the parties moved on towards Rajahmundry but meeting the French troops under De Conflans, (the then successor of De Bussy who was transferred to Karnatic), half-way at Gollaprolu, they fought a battle at Chendurthi or Kundur and defeated them in December 1758[1] Col. Forde pursued them to Rajahmundry and taking that fort, still further pursued them. At this time Ananda Gajapati of Vizianagar attacked the forts of Peddapur and Pittapur, then under the control of Jagapathi raju and Peda Mahipati and Neeladri Rayaningars respectively and subdued them. He then marched

1. *Vide E. Godavari Dt. Gazetteer for details.

to Rajahmundry and demanded that fort from the English but in vain. Then, he refused to fulfil the treaty obligations. Hence Col. Ford had to return to Rajahmundry only to find Ananda Gajapati feeling to the hills. It was at his juncture that John Andrews, captain of the troops of the E. I. Co. at Vizag was sent to negotiate with Ananda Gajapathi and he succeeded in effecting a compromise by which E. I. Co received a large amount (Vide letter No. 1 printed). Then, both Col. Forde and Ananda Gajapathi moved on to Ellore. From thence Col. Forde went and took Masulipatam from the French and made a treaty with Salabat Jung by which the latter handed over Masulipatam and its neighbouring lands to the English and undertook to drive out the French from the country. In return, the English recognised his power over the N. Circars. Meanwhile, Ananda Gajapathi returned to Samalkota and fought a battle at Undur against pJaga pathi Raju of Peddapur and killed him. He took the forts of Pittapur Samalcot and Peddapur but did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labours. He died of small-pox at Rajahmundry in April 1759, and a tomb and garden of his can still be seen close to the N. bank of the R. Godavari near the railway station. Then Vijayaramaraju's wife Chandrayyamma adopted a boy and named him Vijayaramaraju. At the same time Jagapathi Raju's minor son, Timma IV was placed on the Peddapur throne (1760—1797). On the death of Salabat Jung Hyderabad passed into the hands of Mir. Nizam Ally Khan, (1761—1803) With a view to make good his claims on the Rajahmundry and Chicacol Circars, the Nizam moved with a large army to Kovvur on the southern bank of the Godavari. There, he was met by the minor Rajahs of Peddapur, Pittapur and Vijayanagar who paid homage and agreed to pay the arrear tributes. In return, they were confirmed in their respective Zamindaries. It was during the reign of this Nizam Ally Khan that the E. I. Co., made efforts to take for rent the Five Circars. Already, their settlements were established at many places. Originally, a Firman of Sultan Abdulla Qutub Shah of Golconda helped the E. I. Co., to settle at Masulipatam in 16 1 and build their first factory on the east coast. A grant of land near Mylapore made by the Vijayanagar Emperor in 1639 enabled them to build Fort St. George in 1653. From this time onwards, more settlements

were established along the east coast. With the establishment of the United East India Company in 1703, English trade and settlements received great impetus. More factories were set up all along the East Coast.

After the town of Masulipatam was captured by the English in the year A. D. 1759, during the time of the Honourable George Pigot, Governor of Fort St. George, and the Company's Officers entered into Northern Circars, two Golconda Vyapri Brahmin Dubhashis by name, Jogee Pantulu and Venkatarayalu were employed as inspectors to the chief-in-Council, stationed at Masulipatam. At that time they used their best endeavours to put the Chiefs in possession of the country.

In the year 1764, the Madras Government endeavoured to take for rent the 5 Circars, 1. Kondavid or Mutunjannagar, 2, Ellore, 3. Mustufanagar (Kondapalli) 4. Rajahmundry 5. Chikacole. On that occasion, for negotiating matters with Nizam Ali Khan Kandregula Jogee Pantulu was chosen and was sent to Hyderabad in the same year, as an ambassadar on behalf of the E.I. Company, with requisite honours of rank suited for the purpose (Vide letters Nos. 2, 3, and 4 published in J.A.H.R.S. vol 3.) He was successful, and the Company obtained the Circars for rent.

At that time, on Jogi Pantulu's laying before the Nizam his claims to succeed to the offices of Mazumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar, formerly enjoyed by his maternal grandfathers (Jillella family) the Nizam was pleassed to restore him, as well as his two brothers (Ramjee and Venkatryulu) to the said offices by means of a fresh Sanad, and conferred on Jogee Pantulu the Titles of "Rajah Bahadur".

The above grant was confirmed by the Honourable Company by means of a Sunnad of the Presibent and Council of Fort St. George.

By virtue of the Sunnud of the Nizam and the orders of the Government of Fort St. George, the several Zamindars in the Northern Circars restored to Jogee Pantulu all the roosooms, savarans, rent Villages, coconut and beetlenut gardens,

Inams, &c., appertaining to the above offices in their respective estates and yielding an annual income of about 30,000 Pagodas. In addition to the above, Jogi Pantulu used to rent some villages, and also in some years the Divi Purganah from the Government, who reposed in him especial trust and confidence in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment, which he manifested to the Honourable East India Company.

About the year 1772, Jogi Pantulu died. His younger brother Venkatarayulu succeeded him in the office of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar in the year 1773, and continued in it till 1778, when the office in question was abolished as useless to Government, and the lands and fees, villages &c., pertaining thereto were returned to the respective Zamindars. In campensation for the loss thereby sustained an allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was ordered to be paid to Venkatarayulu from the Company's treasury.

The fiscal condition of the Rajahmundry Circar – and this applies to other Circars as well — was most unsatisfactory during the whole period. From 1760 to 1797, Timma Jagapati was the Maharajah of Peddapur. Vijayaramaraju II was the then ruler of Vizayanagaram. Both these were paying Jumma or Tribute (fee which a feudatory should pay to the Suzerain) to the Nizam, but both were showing signs of revolt frequently. Peddapur Rajah paid 1,14,283 Pagodas or Karaku Varahas (a gold coin worth Rs. 4.)

After 1766 when the Company obtained rights over Circars, the tribute or Paiskash was raised to 1,27987 and by the end of the century it was raised to 1,60,000 Varahas. Though the tribute was thus raised, the Zamindars were enabled to cut down their troops as the Company gave the help of their Sihbandi or troops in putting down the revolts of the minor chiefs and in recovering the arrear rents due from them. Maharatta incursions were also put down and the country enjoyed the benefits of peaceful trade and order.

The Company's officials, being ignorant of the native dialects, entrusted the management of their affairs to their advisers, called Dubashis or Interpreters, and one such Dubashi or Dvibhashi was

Jogi Pantulu who was entertained by the Company in 1759 and who, by his long and faithful services in obtaining the Circars for rent from the Nizam to the Company, rose rapidly to a powerful position. From 1766—69, he was joint-renter of Rajahmundry Circar and thus controlled the Zamindars. Hence his position was envied by the Zamindars and especially by the Raja of Peddapur. Till the advent of Lord Cornwallis reforms in 1793, such as, the Permanent Revenue Settlement, the separation and establishment of the offices of District Collector and District Judge and the organization of the Police, the Rajahmundry Circar may be said, along with other Circars, to have suffered much from want of law and Order.

The revenue administration of the Circars was previously done on a commercial basis. The profits on weaving and spinning and cloth printing, sea-customs, revenue from salt, abkari and agricultural farms amounted to several lakhs. Col. Forde, who made a treaty with the Nizam after conquering the Circars by driving out the French in 1759, leased out the revenues for three years and from 1762, the annual lease system was adopted but as the arrears began to increase, it was given up in 1765 in favour of the five years lease system. The renters were expected to pay up fully and to look to the welfare of the inhabitants (cultivators) of the farms. During this period, there was dual control over Northern Circars because the Nizam appointed the Nawabs to collect the revenues, while the Company also supervised by giving military help to the Nawabs. Hussain Ally Khan was appointed to govern the Circars but as he was weak, the Zamindars to whom they were leased out resisted and paid little. There was anarchy in the country. Now Hussain Ally made an alliance with the

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1 The Company rented out the Rajahmundry Circar at an annual rent of 3,83,500 Madras Pagodas to Hussain Ally and Jogi Pantulu jointly, and Ellore and Mustafanagar to Hussain Ally only at over 4 lakhs of Madras Pagodas per year. The Zamindars were asked to recognise the authority of these renters. Peddapur and Samalkot revolted but the Company's troops put them down. The several forts in the Circars were gradually destroyed and the number of native troops greatly reduced. The Zamindars' right to levy transit duties was also abolished. The Company desired to control the Government and in 1769, the rentership of both Hussain Ally and Jogi Pantulu was ended by the Company and the Circars were leased out separately to the highest bidder.

Jogi Pantulu and after his death his brother Venkatarayulu enjoyed the offices of Mazumdar and Sheristadar till their abolition finally in 1781. They also rented out several farms and enjoyed Rusooms and other gifts till their abolition in 1786. The Reforms of Lord Cornwallis in 1793 placed the Circars, along with other posessions of the Honourable Company, on the road to peace and prosperity by ensuring law and order and by placing the revenue administration on an equitable and sure basis.

Madras Government with regard to revenue collection. When his authority ceased in 1762, owing to his dismissal by Nizam Ally Khan, the control of the English also ceased and the country witnessed worst anarchy. From 1764 to 1766, Hussain Ally Khan again held the office of the Naib (Governor) over the Circars and the Company's troops were again employed for revenue collection and the chief of Masulipatam was granted rights to collect revenues over certain Parganas in the Circars. At the end of 1765, the Company received Sanads from Emperor Shah Alam, as a result of the the victory at Buxar in 1764, giving it the right to enjoy the revenues of the Circars. In 1766, the Company obtained the right of renting the Circars from Nizam Ally Khan through the clever negotiation of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu.

پانڈی چری میں مظفر جنگ کی تخت نشینی

از
معین الدین رہبر فاروقی صاحب۔ حیدر آباد (دکن)

اسی دن دوپہر کے بعد، نواب ناصر جنگ کی شہادت کی اطلاع میدان جنگ سے پانڈی چری پہنچ گئی۔ جوں ہی کہ چندا صاحب نے یہ خبر سنی، آرمی کہتا ہے کہ وہ مسرت کے مارے، آپے سے باہر ہو گیا، اور جس لباس میں بیٹھا تھا اسی حالت میں اپنی شان کا لحاظ کیے بغیر نکل پڑا، اور پانڈی چری کی سڑکوں پر سے دوڑتا، پھلانگتا، ڈوپلے کی قیام گاہ پہنچا اور اُسے یہ اطلاع سناتے اور مبارک باد ــــ دیتے ہوئے، اس زور سے گلے لگایا کہ قریب تھا کہ ڈوپلے کا دم گھٹ جائے۔ اس کی بھی مسرت اندازہ سے باہر تھی، فوراً حکم دیا کہ پانڈی چری کی توپوں کے مُنہ کھول دیے جائیں، اور انہیں پے در پے سر کیا جائے تاکہ نزدیک و دور اس فتح کی خوشخبری پہنچ جائے۔

ے زیر ترتیب کتاب "مظفر جنگ" کے ایک باب کا اقتباس ۱۲

مظفر جنگ کی تخت نشینی

فی الحال ہمیں یہ تحقیق نہ ہو سکی کہ نواب مظفر جنگ کی تخت نشینی کس تاریخ عمل میں آئی اور اس کے تفصیلی حالات کیا ہیں، صرف "انور نامہ" میں ۲۶ محرم بروز عطارد (چہارشنبہ) کی صراحت ہے، لیکن دستور کے مطابق ہمارا قیاس ہے کہ ناصر جنگ کی شہادت سے تین دن گزرنے کے بعد چوتھے دن، ۲۰ محرم سنہ ۱۱۶۴ھ / ۸ ڈسمبر سنہ ۱۷۵۰ء کو اتوار کے دن، میدان جنگ ہی میں رسماً اس کی تکمیل ہوئی ہوگی۔ کیونکہ باضابطہ جشن تخت نشینی تو دار السلطنت پہنچنے پر موقوف رہتا ہے تذکرۃ البلاد والحکام سے صرف اس قدر واضح ہوتا ہے کہ افاغنہ نے انھیں ایک تختۂ پلنگ پر بٹھایا تھا، لیکن تاریخ کی وضاحت اس میں بھی نہیں۔

ناصر جنگ کے قتل کے ساتھ ہی کارپردازانِ مظفر جنگ کو فی الفور ایک خطرہ محسوس ہوا، کیونکہ اس وقت نواب شہیدؒ کے ہمراہ ان سے چھوٹے ان کے اور تین بھائی اسی میدان میں موجود تھے۔ آصف جاہ کے فرزند ہونے کی حیثیت سے، اور بھائی کے کوئی اولاد نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے بھائی کے بھی وارث ہونے کے باعث، آصفی تخت پر متمکن ہونے کے مستحق تھے۔ نواب مرحوم کا بھانجا، یا آصف جاہ کا نواسہ ہونے کے باوجود وارثانِ جائز کی موجودگی میں قطعاً مظفر جنگ کو اس کا کوئی حق نہیں پہنچتا تھا۔ بعض مؤرخ عجیب عجیب طریقے سے ناصر جنگ کی جانشینی کے استحقاق کے خلاف کم زور دلائل پیش کرتے ہیں۔ جس پر ہم ہنستے یا حیران ہو جاتے ہیں۔ ناصر جنگ کی تخت نشینی کو تو جائز ثابت کرنے کا یہ مقام نہیں۔ ناصر جنگ۔ کا حق غصب کر لینے پر اگر اعتراض یا دعویٰ یا حملہ کرنے کا حق تھا تو ان کے بڑے بھائی غازی الدین خان فیروز جنگ (ثانی)

کو تھا۔ لیکن فیروز جنگ نے جب تک ناصر جنگ زندہ رہے ان میں سے کسی بات پر عمل نہیں کیا۔ ہم یہاں مظفر جنگ کی تخت نشینی کو، اُس وقت موجود آصف جاہ کی اولاد کے مقابلہ میں حق بجانب ثابت کرنے سے عاجز ہیں۔

کہا جاتا ہے کہ محمد انور خاں نے بغرضِ حفاظت، ناصر جنگ کے تینوں بھائیوں اور ان کی بیگموں کو، راجہ رام چندر کی جمعیت میں پہنچا دیا تھا جو "نواب مرحوم" کے لشکر میں مقدمتہ الجیش پر مامور تھا۔ مظفر جنگ اسی خطرہ کو محسوس کرکے، جس کا ہم نے اوپر تذکرہ کیا ہے، دو تین فرانسیسی سرداروں کو (جس میں بسّے اور لا ٹوش بھی شامل ہیں) حکم دیا کہ وہ فوراً ان لوگوں پر اپنی "فوجی نگرانی" قائم کردیں۔ نواب نظام الملک کے جو بیٹے اس "جنگ گاہ" میں موجود تھے، ان کے نام اور ان کی عمریں حسب ذیل ہیں :—

(۱) سید محمد خاں صلابت جنگ۔ اُس وقت عمر تقریباً (۲۴)[1] سال
(۲) میر نظام علیخاں اسد جنگ۔ " " " (۱۸)[2] "
(۳) میر محمد شریف خاں بسالت جنگ۔ " " " (۱۵)[3] "

حسین علی کرمانی[4] کہتا ہے کہ مظفر جنگ نے جب اُن لوگوں کی تلاش کرائی، تو بڑی مشکل سے پتہ چلا، جس کے بعد انھوں نے اپنے ایک رازدار و معتمد شخص کو بھیج کر اپنے پاس طلب کیا۔ آنے کے بعد بڑی تسلی دی، اور مکارانہ صُلح جوئی سے کام لیا۔ انور نامہ[5] میں ہے کہ ان تینوں کو ہفت ہزاری منصب بھی عطا کیا۔

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[1] [2] [3] علی الترتیب ان کے سنہ ہائے ولادت ۱۱۳۰ھ و ۱۱۳۶ھ اور ۱۱۳۹ھ ہیں دیکھئے شجرہ آصفیہ بدرالدین خاں۔ نمبر چوتھے بیٹے میر مغل علی خاں ناصر الملک ہمایوں جاہ جن کی عمر ۱۲ سال تھی شاید اس وقت ساتھ نہ تھے۔

[4] تذکرۃ البلاد والحکام (قلمی۔ دفتر دیوانی سرکار عالی) صفحہ ۶۵ [5] انور نامہ (قلمی) صفحہ ۱۳۹

تاریخ ظفرہ میں بھی اسی قبیل کا بیان ہے جس سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ انھوں نے، صلابت جنگ، نظام علی خاں اور دیگر امراء کو بلا بلا کر تسلّی دی۔ اور مرأۃ الصفا سے واضح ہوتا ہے کہ :۔

نواب صلابت جنگ، واسد جنگ و بسالت جنگ، نیز
بدستور، بہ سرداری ہمشیر زادہ کہ درسن، بجائے برادر کلاں بود،
راضی گشتند ۔

ہمیں اس امر کی تصدیق کرنی پڑے گی کہ کیا فی الحقیقت نواب مظفر جنگ سبھوں سے عمر میں پڑے تھے، لیکن افسوس ہے کہ، دکن کی کسی تاریخ میں جو ہماری نظر سے اس وقت تک گزر کی ہیں، ان کی تاریخ ولادت ہی نہیں ملتی اور اشارۃً وکنایۃً بھی ان کی عمر کا ذکر نہیں ملتا جس پر ہم کو بے انتہا تعجب ہے۔ شاید ہم آئندہ اپنی تحقیقات میں اس کا پتہ چلا سکیں۔ فی الحال تاریخ فتحیہ کے ایک بیان کی مدد سے اس کو حل کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

یوسف محمد خاں (فتحیہ) مظفر جنگ کے حالات کے ذیل میں لکھتا ہے، کہ جس وقت ناصر جنگ، حضرت آصف جاہ سے باغی ہو کر مقابلہ پر اُتر آئے تھے، تو اس معرکہ میں مظفر جنگ اپنے والد متوسل خاں کے ساتھ شریک جنگ تھے، اور اس وقت ان کی عمر (۱۷) سال تھی، یہ لڑائی ۲۰ رجمادی الاولیٰ ۱۱۵۴ھ کو ہوئی تھی۔ اس لحاظ سے ان کا سنہ ولادت ۱۱۳۷ھ قرار پاسکتا ہے، اور تخت نشینی کا زیر بحث واقعہ (۱۱۶۴ھ) کا ہے۔ پس ان کی عمر اس وقت (۲۷) سال ثابت ہوتی ہے، اور انکے تینوں ماموؤں میں سب سے زیادہ عمر (۳۴) سال صلابت جنگ کی ہے۔

فتحیہ کا مؤلف۔ مظفر جنگ کا طرف دار، اور ان کا مصاحب رہ چکا ہے۔

اور "مراۃ الصفا" کا مؤلف محمد علی شاہ نواز خان دیوان وشریک معرکہ کا میر منشی۔ پس ہم سوچتے ہیں کہ کس طرح ان دو میں سے کس کی تردید کریں۔ الغرض اس وقت باغیوں اور فرانسیسیوں کی فوجی طاقت، مظفر جنگ کی پشت پر موجود تھی۔ اس لیے ان کی تخت نشینی کو ع

ہر کہ شمشیر زند خطبہ بہ نامش خوانند

کا نتیجہ سمجھنا چاہیے۔ خاندانِ آصفی کے اراکین، امراء اور دوسرے سردار سب مجبور، اور بری طرح گھرے ہوئے تھے۔ حریف نے سارے میدان کو قابو میں کر رکھا تھا۔ کسی کو مخالفت میں "یارائے دم زدن" نہ تھا۔ بعض بڑے بڑے امراء و افرادِ خاندان یہاں موجود نہ تھے۔ بلکہ وہ دار السلطنت اورنگ آباد میں تھے۔ اسی لیے چار و ناچار سب کو اطاعت کرنی پڑی۔

مقام تخت نشینی جیسا کہ ہم نے سطور گذشتہ میں لکھا ہے کہ اسی میدان میں، جس میں آصفی سپاہ پڑاؤ ڈالے پڑی تھی۔ اور ناصر جنگ شہید ہوئے ہیں مظفر جنگ سریر آرائے حکومت ہوئے لہذا جو مقام قتل ناصر جنگ ہے وہی مقام تخت نشینی مظفر جنگ۔ ہمارے تذکرے اور تاریخیں اس باب میں جو کچھ لکھتی ہیں، ان کو ہم یکے بعد دیگرے یہاں نقل کریں گے۔

(۱) میر غلام علی آزاد (بلگرامی) جو ساتھ معرکے میں موجود، اور ناصر جنگ کے پاس بوقتِ شہادت حاضر تھے۔ سرو آزاد میں تحریر فرماتے ہیں کہ یہ مقام پانڈی چیری سے تقریباً ۲۰۔ کوس (۴۰ میل) قریب قلعہ جنجی واقع تھا۔

(۲) ایک اور شریک کارزار افضل قاقشال بیان کرتا ہے کہ ناصر جنگ کے فوجی خیمے، قلعۂ جنجی سے ۶ کوس (۱۲ میل) کے فاصلہ پر نصب ہیں۔

(۳) تیسرا فوجی عہدہ دار نور محمد خاں اپنی کتاب "واقعات جانشینی آصف جاہ" میں لکھتا ہے کہ

ناصر جنگ پنج کروہ (۱۰ میل) قلعہ جنجی رسیدہ، سواد آن زمین را بقیام گاہ جلوہ گر فرمودند"

(۴) تاریخ راحت افزا سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ ناصر جنگ کا لشکر دو دریاؤں کے بیچ میں گھر گیا تھا، جن میں سے ایک کا نام چکراؤتی ہے۔

(۵) تذکرۃ البلاد والحکام میں ایک جگہ پر ہے:۔

"در میدان شرقی جنجی" کہ اندرون قلعہ ٹھانہ فرانسیس بود، افاغنۂ بے باک از روئے دغا سر نواب مظلوم بریدہ"

(۶) اور دوسری جگہ اسی تذکرے نے، مقام کی بھی صاف وضاحت کرتے ہوئے، اس کا نام بھی لکھدیا ہے۔ اس لحاظ سے ہماری اپنی تاریخوں میں یہی ایک کتاب ہے، جس نے نام کو بھی بالتصریح لکھا ہے، چنانچہ اس کے اصل الفاظ یہ ہیں:۔

"چوں سواد موضع آلے گرام متعلقہ جنجی کہ سہ کروہے شرقیست محل نزول رایات آصف جاہی گردید[1]"

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[1] تذکرۃ البلاد والحکام ص۶۴ قلمی ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ آزاد اور شاہ نواز خاں وغیرہ جیسے ناصر جنگ کے دربار سے تعلق رکھنے والے اصحاب مقام کا نام اس وجہ سے نہ لکھ سکے کہ یہ ایک غیر معروف مقام ہوگا اور یہاں کے مواضع کے اسماء سے یہ لوگ واقف بھی نہ تھے۔ اس تذکرے نے جو نام لکھا ہے اس کا سبب یہ محسوس ہوتا ہے کہ اس کا مؤلف کرناٹک کے قصبات و تعلقات کے ناموں کو خوب جانتا ہے جس پر خود اس کی محولہ بالا تالیف شاہد ہے، کیونکہ اس نے اس میں کرناٹک کے جملہ مقامات کا گویا ایک تاریخی جغرافیہ لکھا ہے۔ اس وجہ سے ہمارے نزدیک اس کے بیان کی اہمیت ہے گو وہ شریک معرکہ نہ تھا مگر جس زمانے میں یہ کتاب لکھی ہے، اس واقعہ (شہادت ناصر جنگ) کو گذرے ہوئے چالیس پچاس سال سے زیادہ نہیں ہوئے تھے۔

مولوی حکیم سید شمس اللہ صاحب قادری نے اپنے رسالۂ تاریخ میں، اس مقام کو تاریخ راحت افزا کی روشنی میں تلاش کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے لیکن ہم اس سے کوئی نتیجہ نہ حاصل کر سکے۔

(۷) "انڈین ہسٹری کانگریس" کی پانچویں میقات (سنہ ۱۹۴۱ء) منعقدہ حیدرآباد (دکن) میں مسٹر ایم اے لے ایورو (M. A. Lehuraux) نے ایک مضمون "ڈوپلے فتح آباد کی دریافت" (The finding of the Site of Dupleix Fathabad.) پڑھا تھا، ہم نے اسے بھی دیکھا ہے جس کے اکثر مندرجات پر منحصر رہے کہ مضمون نگار بعض مغربی تاریخوں کی غلط بیانی کے کس قدر زیر اثر ہیں۔ انھوں نے اپنی تحقیق سے جو مقام نام زد کیا ہے، اس کا خلاصہ یہ ہے کہ:—

"ولی میڈو پیٹ" (Velimedonpet) جو جنوبی ارکاٹ کے تعلقہ "ٹنڈی وانم" (Tindivanam.) سے تعلق رکھتا ہے کے شمال میں ٹنڈی وانم، وانڈی واش روڈ پر پینتیسویں سنگ میل سے کسی قدر نچلی طرف "پٹانندل" (Puttanandal) کے موضع میں مقام زیر بحث واقع ہے۔ یہیں جنوبی رُخ پر، سامنے کی جانب ایک چھوٹا سا مسطح میدان ہے، جو کسی زمانہ میں مسلمانوں کا قبرستان تھا۔ لیکن قبروں کے نشانات عرصہ ہوا کہ مٹ گئے۔ اسی رُخ پر "شولٹری" (Choultry) کی جانب مشہور روایتی تالاب "کمارا پاکولم" (Komarappakulam) واقع ہے۔

بہر حال اس انکشاف کو ہماری تاریخوں کے متذکرہ بیانات کی

بھی روشنی میں مقامی طور پر پہنچ کر تصدیق و تحقیق کرنی ہوگی جس کا کہ افسوس ہے ہم کو اب تک موقع نہ مل سکا۔

مظفر جنگ کا پانڈی چری میں دوسری مرتبہ داخلہ

دکنی تاریخیں لکھتی ہیں کہ مظفر جنگ، نواب ناصر جنگ کے مارے جانے کے بعد، تین روز تک اسی میدان میں ٹھہرے رہے۔ چوتھے دن ۱۹ محرم شنبہ کو وہ پھلجری (پانڈی چری) روانہ ہوئے۔ اور انگریزی تاریخوں سے، دس بارہ روز یہیں قیام ثابت ہوتا ہے، چنانچہ یہ بیان کرتی ہیں کہ ۱۶ دسمبر کو جدید نواب فرانسیسی آبادی (یعنی پانڈی چری کے علاقے) میں ایک فاتح اور والئی ملک کی شان سے داخل ہوئے۔ اور اسی مہینے کی ۲۱ تاریخ کو انھوں نے اپنا پہلا دربار منعقد کیا، جس میں مغل سرداروں اور ڈوپلے کی نذریں قبول کیں۔

نظام الملک کی دولت کی پہلی لوٹ

ہم نے اپنی کتاب ناصر جنگ میں ہنری ڈاڈول کے حوالہ سے لکھا ہے کہ اس معرکہ میں جو مال غنیمت ہاتھ لگا اور (غالباً سرکاری تحویل میں) پانڈی چری لایا گیا، وہ (۱۸) صندوق جواہرات، ایک کروڑ اشرفیاں اور روپے نقد (جو غیر مسکوک تھے) پر مشتمل تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ سارے شہر میں معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ روپیہ پھوٹ پڑا ہے۔ کوئی متنفس باقی نہ تھا جسے کافی مقدار میں مال ہاتھ نہ لگا ہو۔

اس دولت کی نسبت ہمیں ایک فرانسیسی سرجن کا بھی بیان ملتا ہے جو سال ڈیڑھ سال بعد کا ہے، لیکن اس وقت تک بھی اس مال غنیمت کی فراوانی، اور بے پناہ مقدار کا اندازہ کیا جا سکتا ہے۔

یہ سرجن ۱۷۵۲ء میں پانڈی چری سے لکھتا ہے:—

"جو لوگ دکن جاتے ہیں، وہ دولت مند ہو جاتے ہیں، کوئی شخص خالی ہاتھ نہیں آتا۔ ام ولسنس (میڈم ڈوپلے کا بیٹا) ۴۰ ہزار اشرفیاں، جو ہر ایک سولہ روپے کی ہے، اور بے شمار پگوڈا[۱] سکے، روپے جواہرات لے کر واپس آیا ہے ام کروجین ڈوپلے کا بھتیجا بھی اسی قدر مال دار ہو کر پہنچا ہے، اسی لیے ہر شخص حیدر آباد جانے کا آرزو مند ہے[۲]۔"

منظفر جنگ کا پانڈی چری میں استقبال

فرانسیسی کمپنی کے مقاصد کے لیے، اور اسی کے پہلو بہ پہلو شخصی طور پر ڈوپلے کے واسطے بھی فتح و جلوس منظفری، عین اس کی اپنی کامیابی بنی ہوئی تھی۔ نمائش پسند گورنر صاحب بہادر کچھ اپنی افتادِ طبع سے مجبور، اور کچھ سیاسی مصالح پیشِ نظر، کہ اس وقت نواب صاحب کو جس قدر مرعوب و ممنون کیا جا سکتا ہے ان تدابیر میں کوئی کسر اٹھا نہ رکھی جائے۔ اسی لیے "مسرتی تقاریب" کے رنگ برنگ دام بچھنے شروع ہوئے۔ جس میں یہ جذبہ بھی کارفرما تھا کہ امرائ، رؤسا، و دیگر نوابانِ ہند، اور بالخصوص نواب منظفر جنگ پر، حریف انگریزوں کے بالمقابل، فرانسیسی قوم کی شان و شوکت اور تمول کا اظہار بھی ہو۔ منظفر جنگ پانڈی چری میں مہینہ بھر یا اس سے کچھ کم زیادہ قیام پذیر رہے۔ یوں تو ہر روز، کسی نہ کسی عنوان سے تقاریب کا سلسلہ جاری تھا۔ لیکن سب سے بڑا جو جشن منایا گیا، اس کی آتش بازی کی تفصیل سے، دیگر لوازم کا انداز کیجیے۔

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[۱] پگوڈا دکن کا ایک قدیم سکہ، جو تقریباً ساڑھے تین روپے کا ہوتا تھا۔
[۲] ڈوپلے اینڈ کلائیو۔ بائی ہنری ڈاڈول۔

مسرّتِ فتح میں اعجوبۂ روزگار آتشبازی

کہتے ہیں کہ اس آنے والے دن کی مسرت کا مہینوں پہلے سے تعیّن کر لیا گیا تھا، اسی بنا، پر وضاحت کے ساتھ مورخین لکھتے ہیں کہ تین ماہ سے اس تقریب کے لیے آتش بازی کی تیاری جاری تھی، اس واقعہ پر دُور بین نگاہیں پڑتی ہیں تو اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ دشمنوں نے کسی نہ کسی حیلہ سے ناصر جنگ کو قتل کر دینے کا بیڑا اٹھایا تھا۔ اور ان کو ناصر جنگ کے ساتھ غداری کر کے، اپنا آلۂ کار بننے والے آصفی سرداروں کی نسبت اس معاملۂ دغا میں، وفادار رہنے پر کس قدر بھروسہ تھا۔ ڈوپلے کے شہرۂ آفاق طریقِ کار کا بھی یہ واقعہ ایک مثال سمجھا جائے گا، جس کے متعلق یہ بیان، کیا جاتا ہے کہ وہ جس کسی کام کا آغاز کرتا، تو دس سال پہلے سے اُس کے منصوبے تیار کرتا، اور اُنھیں پختہ کرنا شروع کرتا تھا۔

الغرض اس قدر آتشبازی تیار کی گئی تھی کہ شاید ہی اس کی کوئی نوع باقی رہ گئی ہو۔ ہم جزئیات کا تذکرہ نہیں کریں گے۔ گورنری ایوان کی آرایش و زیبایش، شہر و قلعۂ پانڈی چری کی تزئین و رونق، بنگلوں اور عمارتوں کی رنگا رنگ روشنیوں اور ان کی جگمگاہٹ سے بھی نظریں ہٹا لینی چاہتے ہیں، جو آپ کو خفیہ نویسوں کی ڈائریوں اور روزنامچوں وغیرہ سے مل جائیں گی۔ آپ کے سامنے صرف اس اعجوبۂ روزگار نادر ترین آتش بازی کا تذکرہ کریں گے جس کی نسبت سمجھا جاتا ہے کہ یہ ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں ایک اچھوتی اور بہت ہی عظیم الشان آتش بازی تھی۔

ہماری "تاریخ راحت افزا" کی زبان اس کی تعریف میں لال ہے، وہ لکھتی ہے کہ اس میں فن کاروں نے لنکا پر راون کی چڑھائی کا منظر

چھپا رکھا تھا، جب نواب مظفر جنگ، ڈوپلے کی کوٹھی میں پہنچے تو ان سے ایک "بارودی بندر" کو اپنے ہاتھ سے روشن کرنے کی فرمائش کی گئی، اس کا سلگنا ہی تھا کہ یہ بندر، اُن کے پاس سے اُچک کر، اس احاطہ پر جا پہنچا۔ جس کو لنکا قرار دیا گیا تھا، جس میں غالباً بارودی بنگلے اور مکان وغیرہ بنائے گئے تھے - یہ ایک ایک کو روشن کرتا جاتا تھا۔ یہاں تک کہ سارا جزیرہ، نظر فریب مختلف روشنیوں سے جگمگا اٹھا اور وہ نظارہ آنکھوں کے سامنے پیش تھا، جو لنکا پر راون کی "سپاہ میمون" نے کیا تھا، اور سارے جزیرے کو آتشیں بنا دیا تھا، سارے دیکھنے والے سکتے میں اور حیران تھے، اور مؤرخ، کاریگروں کے اس بے پناہ کمال کی ندرت دیکھ کر جن تاثرات کا اظہار کرتا ہے، اس کے الفاظ کی مختصر طور پر یوں ترجمانی کی جاسکتی ہے ؎

خامہ انگشت بدنداں کہ اسے کیا لکھیے ناطقہ سر بہ گریباں کہ اسے کیا کہیے

مظفر جنگ کے انعام وعطایا کا سیلاب

اس جشن کے ضیافتی دربار میں نواب صاحب نے ڈوپلے کو ظفر جنگ کا اور اس کی بیوی کو "جہاں آراء بیگم" کا خطاب عطا کیا۔ جس کو مغربی مورخین بگاڑ کر کے جوھانا بیگم لکھتے اور جس کی عقلمندی کی داستانیں بیان کرتے ہیں۔ گورنر کو ایک خلعت فاخرہ بھی مرحمت کی، جس کو پہننے کے لیے ڈوپلے اسی وقت اُٹھا اور زیب بدن کیا۔ فوراً حاضر دربار ہو کر مسلمان امراء کی طرح، نواب صاحب کی خدمت میں سلام بجا لایا۔

چندا صاحب کو خطابات خدا نواز خاں[1] شمس الدولہ حسین دوست خاں بہادر مبارز جنگ[2] کے ساتھ منصب ہفت ہزاری سرفراز کیا۔

عبدالرحمٰن گاردی کو — خطاب "مظفر خاں" اور منصب ہفت ہزاری مع ماہی مراتب۔

جنرل بُسے (موسی بوسی) کو — خطاب عمدۃ الملک سیف الدولہ غضنفر جنگ اور منصب ہفت ہزاری مع علم و نقارہ

دربار دہلی میں مظفر جنگ کی عرضداشت

نواب مظفر جنگ نے، نواب ناصر جنگ کے مارے جانے، اور ان کی بجائے اپنے مسند نشین ہونے کے واقعات پر مشتمل ایک اطلاعی عرضداشت، دربار دہلی میں احمد شاہ بادشاہ کی خدمت میں بھیجی۔ جو شاید یہیں (پانڈی چری) سے روانہ کی گئی تھی۔ دکن کی ساری تاریخیں اس کے ذکر سے خاموش ہیں۔ آصف جاہ، ناصر جنگ، شاہنواز خاں موسوی خاں میر منشی یا دیگر امراء وغیرہ کے خطوط کے جو مجموعے موجود اور ملتے ہیں، ان میں سے کسی میں بھی اس عرضی کا پتہ نہیں چلتا۔ ہمارا قیاس ہے کہ دربار دہلی، چندا صاحب، گورنر پانڈی چری، دیگر امراء اور نوابوں سے مظفر جنگ نے جو مراسلت کی ہوگی، اس کا کہیں نہ کہیں کوئی مکمل مجموعہ، یا اس کا کوئی حصہ ملنا چاہیے۔ یا یہ جن کے نام موسوم تھے اور بھیجے گئے تھے، ان کے اپنے مکتوبات کے مجموعوں میں ان کی نقلیں ضرور دستیاب ہوسکیں گی۔ اسی تصور کی بناء پر ایک عرصہ سے ہماری

۱؎ تاریخ ظفرہ ص ۱۰۶/۱۱۹ ۱۲

۲؎ اصل حکم کا عکس دیکھیے۔ سلسلہ مطبوعات دفتر دیوانی حیدر آباد جلد اول کے صفحہ (۱۳۵) پر ۱۲

تلاش جاری ہے، تاکہ ان کو حاصل کر کے، خود مظفر جنگ کے نقطۂ نظر سے واقعات پر غور کرنے کا موقع مل جائے۔ جن سے بہت سے نئے تاریخی انکشافات کی بھی توقع ہے۔ سات آٹھ برس کی جستجو میں ہم ایک مجموعہ سے صرف ایک ہی عرضی پا سکے۔ جس وقت ہمیں یہ دستیاب ہوئی تو ہماری مسرت اندازہ سے باہر تھی۔ وہی عرضداشت ہاتھ آئی، جو انہوں نے بعد شہادت ناصر جنگ، مغل شہنشاہ کی خدمت میں بھیجی۔

بہر حال ہم "دکن ہسٹری کانفرنس" کی اس پہلی میقات

(The First Session of Deccan History Conference)

(۱۹۴۵ء) میں اس نادر ترین تاریخی تحفہ کو پیش کر رہے ہیں جو پہلی دفعہ اس کے جلسہ گاہ (اسٹیج) سے منظر عام پر لائی جا رہی ہے۔

عرضداشت

بعد ادائے آداب زمیں بوسی بعرض باریابان محفل منور بادشاہ ظل اللہ گیہان خدیو عالم پناہ میرساند

آصف جاہ (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) کہ اکمل عقلائے دہر و ابلغ جہان، بل صاحب دل و اہل عرفاں بودند، بوجدان حیثیت احوال، و مشاہدہ اوضاع و افعال، کہ حصول دولت بزدی، و تطابق مرضیات پیرایۂ پسندیدگی یافتہ، نوعے توجہات و عنایات بحال فدوی مرعی می فرمودند، کہ از السنۂ انام، و حرکات ناشائستۂ از نظام الدولہ، پاس رضا و صیانت ادائی از فدوی، در مقابل آن۔ باعث افزایش مراتب و اشفاق او از دیاد مراعات

والتفات می کردند حتیٰ از کلماتِ دل آویز و تحسین آمیزِ مہرافروزِ ایشان کہ بفرطِ شفقت وجوشِ محبت، اکثر اوقات از زبان صدق سنج آں اصدقِ انام لبریزی نمود گمان می شد کہ شائستۂ امروز (تخت) و سلیمان، قائم مقامی اغلب فلانے می تواند شد ہم دراں سبب بہ تجویز خطاب سعداللہ خاں کہ بعد سعداللہ خاں وزیر، از عہدۂ اعلیحضرت تا زمانِ حضرت فردوس آرام گاہ احدے باین خطابِ مستطاب امتیاز نیافتہ، سرفراز گشتہ مورد عنایات بے نہایات ومطمح انظارِ تفضلات بود۔ از اطلاع ایں حالات واستماع ایں مقدماتِ توحدعینِ عناد، و مثبت اصل کینہ و نفاق، در دل نظام الدولہ میگرد و آثار و علاماتش تا امینِ حیاتِ آصف جاہ، نیز گاہ گاہ از مادہ بروز می کرد بعد رحلت ایشاں بنا بر استحکام اصل عداوت ثمراتِ البغض کہ البغضِ اشیاہست، اعرض مبطن بمعرض فعل و اشگاف گشت، و پردہ از میان رفت وطشت از بام افتاد، واندیشۂ مضمرۂ ایشاں کہ خلافِ آئین اتحاد بود، مرۃ بعد اولیٰ وکرۃ بعد اخریٰ بہ بعین پیوست۔ پس بمصداق "الحزم وسوء الظن" برائے پاس ناموس و حفظ مراتب حیا، گرد آوری سامان جنگ، ونگاہ داشت سپاہ و بکثر مصالح دفعِ شر، و رفع تخلل لازم آمد۔ نظر بہ الطافِ الٰہی و اعطاف شاہنشہی دراں باب نمود ایشاں باستماع آں۔ بارادہ باطلہ و نیتِ فاسدہ مع عساکرِ انبوہ ومواد ایذا، از خجستہ بنیاد متوجہ کرناٹک شدند۔ چناں چہ فدوی در رفع گمان ہائے بے اصل و تزئیل اندیشۂ ناصوابِ اطفائے نائرہ پرخاش و تقدیم مراسم صلح و اصلاح، و اظہار لوازم اطاعت و متابعت بتوکیدِ اقسام الٰہی...... (و) مساعی موفورہ وجہدِ بلیغ بابلغ وجوہ بعمل آورد و دزنگہ داشت سررشتۂ ادب و پاسِ مراتب صلۂ رحم، ہرچند کشش ہا و کوشش ہا از خود بکار رفت وتصور (قصور ؟) نہ شد۔ چوں بصدقِ خبر خیر البشر "اذا جاء القضا اعمی البصر" ہرچہ تکبر و حجاب، نخوت و غرور باقتضائے کریمہ وجعلنا من بین ایدیھم سدًا

ومن خلفهم سدًا، فاغشیناهم فهم لا یبصرون - در پیش گاہ بصرِ ایشاں آویزاں بود، بالکل ازآں ہا چشم پوشی کردند و اغماض نمودند ع

چوں غرض آمد ہنر پوشیدہ شد

چوں در خاطرِ ایشاں ارادہ محض فساد، و خواہشِ خلافِ خیر مخطور بود، آخرالامر بہ تجویز تصور تلبیس و اندیشۂ مکر، بوساطن (بوسائط یا بوساطت ؟) مردمِ دانا، وکسانِ معتبر، عقدِ عہد، و پیمان بہ تاکیدِ ایمان و توسط قرآن، فرو بستند، چوں طمانیت تام حاصل شد، بقرار صلح و مدارا بملازمت رسیدہ، ناگاہ نقضِ عہود و مواثیق، و نسخ پیمان و ایمان کہ، خلافِ سنت الاسلام و طریقۂ دین و ایمان است نمودہ، مرتکب امر غدر و غضۂ، و مکرِ غلیظ شدہ - در صدد بایذا و جفا و بے حرمتی و بے مروتی آمدند، از بے باکی و ناخدا ترسی، آیۂ واو فوا بالعھد، ان العھد کان مسئولا ہ ولا تنقضوا الایمان بعد توکیدھا از قلب قساوت ضمیر ایشاں بیکبارگی محو (و) منسی گردید -

پس فدوی باعتماد ان اللہ مع الصابرین، رضا بقضاء، و تن بحکم خدا در داد، چنانچہ ہمہ مراتب معروضہ از زبان .... راست بیان، بعرض اقدس اعلیٰ رسیدہ باشد، ازاں جا کہ خدائے قادر منتقم حقیقی، و متکفلِ امورِ صابران است و مقالیدِ قلوبِ خلق، در ـــــ ید اختیار و ما بینِ اصبعینِ قدرت اوست، بحول وقت او تعالیٰ شانہ، برادرِ عزیز موسی دو رپلیس گورند و ربہادر ظفر جنگ (جن زان ؟) بندر پھلچری، کہ از اعیانِ والیٔ فرنگ و بسیار معتبر و داناتر، و از حضور ساطع النور، سرانجام بنادر از قدیم ماموراست، و آلاتِ آتش افروزی و حرباتِ دشمن سوزی، و سامانِ توپ خانہ و مصالحۂ جنگ و یراق حرب، افزوں از حساب و برقند ازانِ برق فن، و گولندازانِ صفوف شکن کہ ہر یکے بہ افرادِ فن و فہم

فیلسوف چندیں ہزار دارد، اگر بایں انبوہِ پرشکوہ واظہارِ فنون دلاوری ودلیری وچستی وچابک دستی، طرفِ ایران وتوران کار افتد، وافی وکافی می تواند شد، وسائر سرداران عمدہ وغیر عمدہ، خصوصاً فلاں بمشاہدہ ایں حال خیریت اشتمال، بے حد ملول ومکدر شدہ، درپے پاداشِ ایں عمل شنیع آمدند۔ وشرطِ ثبات قدم برجادۂ وفاداری وجاں سپاری مع فدوی نمودند، سرتاسر بجان وچشم، شریکِ امرِ رفاقت ومعاضدت گردیدند؛ سیّما برادر عزیز ظفر جنگ مذکور باتوابع ولواحقِ خود، اعنی سائرِ فرق فرانسس فرنگ کہ درصولت وصلابت اظہرِ عالم، ودر حکمت وشجاعت اشرفان اند، بقرار ایں کہ بالبست ہزار کس از سوار وبرقنداز، رزم ساز، درہر جا وبہمہ حال رفیقِ لشکرِ اسلام باشند۔ قدم بر ذروۂ صدق سداو افشردہ راضی بجاں بازی شدند، چوں معاقد مواثیق از طرفین منعقد آمد ووفائے عہد از نظام الدولہ اصلاً ومطلقاً متصور نہ بود، بحکم کار فرمائے قضا وقدر، ہفدہم شہر محرم صفوف سپاہ درمصافِ جدال از جانبین آراستہ شد۔ بیت؎

چو لشکر بہ لشکر درآورد روئے　　　مبارز برآمد از ہر دو سوئے

نخستیں طنطنۂ طبل وکوس وصیت وصدائے نقارہ ہائے حربی ونوائے نوبت رزمی، از قرنا وسرنا ودف وڈہل وغیرہ بہ آغازید۔ یلان بجوش آمدہ، از جا بجنبیدند، آتش حرب اشتعال گرفت؛ بوارق باروت وشہاب ثاقب شعلہا از توپ وتفنگ ورہکلہ وبان وبندوق از سرتاسر سر شد، گماں شد کہ قیامت آمد وگنبدِ گردوں، واطباقِ آسماں یکسر شگافد۔ از چقاچقِ سیوف سپاہ وترنگاہ ترنگِ تیر وکمان وتیغ وتبر وخنجر، ونعرۂ دلاوران رزم نما وغلغل بہادرانِ پولاد خا، ہول حشر پدیدار بود۔ از طراق طراق اتواپ روئین

وجھائے آتشیں، طاقتِ انسانی، طاق وہوشِ عالم، بے باق — می شد؛ از نظارہ نوادرہ فنونِ مجاہدانِ مردانہ و غازیانِ فرزانہ ع فلک گفت احسن، ملک گفت زہ۔

پیرانِ کہن سال، و کہن سالانِ فرتوت حال، ہم چو ایں ضرب حرب و جنگ و جدل، دریں ملک کم نشان می دہند بلکہ ایں را نمونۂ رزمِ رستمی، و مانندِ حربِ صنا دیدِ عجم می نامند عالمے را از صدمات بوارقِ توپ و تفنگ اہلِ فرنگ چوں خرمنِ کاہ و تودۂ علف سوختہ برباد شدند و عالمے از حدتِ حرباتِ جنگ یعنی از ریزشِ ریاح و بارشِ سہام، وطعن تیر و ضرب صمصام، چوں دواب در مسلخ، مجروح و مذبوح گشتند، ہمچوں فرشِ اوراقِ فصلِ خزاں فرنگ (؟) بر روئے زمین گستردند۔ سیلِ خون، چوں جوئے آب بر روئے خاک رواں شد، دراں اثنار آں چہ مقدور بود بہ اقتضائے کریمہ وکان امر اللہ قدراً مقدوراً۔ جلوۂ ظہور نمود بحول و قوتِ آلہی و عواطف و عنایات شاہنشہی اقبال آصف جاہی غفراں پناہی، بایں خانہ زاد موروثی با نبیرۂ تعلق یافت۔

اکنوں نظر بواز شات و تفضلاتِ اقدس و اعلیٰ، بعد فراغ از نظم و نسق ملک کرناٹک بحصول اطمینان و جمعیتِ خاطر عنقریب انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ از راہِ حیدرآباد عازم خجستہ بنیاد و برہان پور می شود۔

زیادہ آداب سایۂ خاقانی ظلِ سبحانی، از قاف تا قاف بہ مفارق ابداً و سرمداً ممدود باد۔ بحرمۃ النبی و آلہ الامجاد۔"

یہ عرضداشت پیشِ نظر مجموعہ میں صفحہ ۱۲۹ پر مکرر نقل کی گئی ہے، جس میں حسبِ ذیل عبارت اضافہ ہے، ما بقی من و عن وہی ہے جو ہم نے اوپر درج کی ہے۔

وسایرہ روٴسا و عمدہ .... و تمام فرقۂ سپاہ وضیع و شریف از آں طرف منحرف گشتند۔ خصوصاً عبد النبی خان بہادر و بہادر خان و دلیر خان بہادر

وجانوجی جسونت از بدعہدی منادی گشتہ، درصدد مکافاتِ این عمل شدند۔ برادر گورندور بہادر ظفر جنگ مزبور و اتباعش بعضے سائر فرقۂ فرانسیس از کمال صدق و ثباتِ قدم، بر جادۂ رفاقت و وفا دیک روئی عدیم المثال .... چناں چہ باید شد۔[1]"

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[1] تہنیت نامہ قلمی مکتوبہ سنہ ۱۲۰۷ ہجری ص ۱۱۹ تا ص ۱۲۶ (کتب خانۂ آصفیہ) اس عرضی کا عنوان یہ ہے "عرضداشت ہدایت محی الدین عرف سعداللہ خاں بہ نواب نظام الدولہ ناصر جنگ بہادر دست یافتہ متصرف ملک شدند، عرضداشتے متضمن حصولِ ظفر و تمکینِ خود بر مسند نظامت ملکِ دکن، احمد شاہ بادشاہ نوشتند"

The Madhwa Monks and popular singers of the Deccan before the 18th century

BY

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Professor Sri Ram Sharma in his Sectional Presidential address of the sixth session of the Indian History Congress, 1943, asked us to make a systematic and comprehensive study of the lives of the Hindu and Muslim saints and the times of these saints as a part of the history of the people. I propose, in this paper, to present a study of one important branch of the great Vaishnavaite movement, whose founder was Madhwa, (1238 to 1318 A D.) Born near Mangalore, an the west coast of the Deccan, of poor parents, he was sent at an early age to the monastry of Achyuta-preksha, for his education. This event is confirmed by inscriptional evidence. Madhwa attained conspicuous success as a scholar and debater, chose to enter the order of Monks and travelled widely, all over India. He composed his commentaries on the Bhagawad Gita, the Vedanta Sutras and the Upanishads, embodying his own contribution to the interpretation of the tradition of the past. A belief in the existence of God who is the originator, sustainer and destrover of the universe, who is full of excellent attributes and free from all faults, who pervades through every conceivable atom of the universe and without whose will, not a blade of grass can move. The individual soul can never become identical with God but some can by continued faith and devotion and constant association with saints and mystics obtain the capacity of God realisation, even in this life. That this achievement is possible only through the medium of a prophet or messenger of God. The followers of Madhwa believed and continue to believe that he was messenger of God, like the Bodhisatva, in the Mahayanist thought.

The most important and almost contemporaneous source of our knowledge about Madhwa is a sanskrit biography, known as Madhwa Vijaya. It gives us a striking picture of this personality and the magnetic influence that he was able to exercise on his contemporaries. It is no exaggeration to say that he was the pioneer of a reforming movement in Hinduism, which profoundly influenced the people of South India and the Deccan for nearly 400 years and inspired the medieval renaissance in Maharashtra

Bengal and Punjab. The Bengal tradition of Chaitanya acknowledges its indebtedness to the teaching of Madhwa and his followers. Inscriptional evidence confirms Madhwa's travels in the Andhra or Telingana. One of his followers, Narahari held important administrative offices in the Kalinga country, near Vizagapatam, defeated an attack of the wild Sabara tribes, adorned the hill shrine at Simha hellum, with ornamental pavilions, but was compelled, by political revolution to leave the country and gather round the city of Kampli or Anegundi, the nucleus of the city of Vijayanagara. Like the movement of Ramanuja, which exercised a great influence on the Hoysala Rulers of the Deccan, the movement of Madhwa gathered into its fold the rulers of Kalinga. If Bittideva became a Vishnuvardhana, Arjuna, Anuamraja and Mankaditya became Narasimhavardhana, Gopalavardhana and Srirangavardhana. Madhwa travelled from Kalinga to Kakatiya, probably in the time of Queen Rudramamba and had several followers, like Padmanabha. Some time later, he travelled through Maharashtra, probably during the reign of the Yadava King Mahadeva of Devagiri. Thence, he proceeded to Delhi. His biographer tells us that Madhwa met the ruler of Delhi and was able to converse with him in his own language and impress him with the peacefuly nature of his mission. It is probable that Balban was the ruler, whom Madhwa met. We need not dismiss this as a conjecture. It is said that Babar took Nanak to his tent, that Humayun went to Angad, that Akbar walked barefooted to Amardas, that Nurjahan had several interviews with Hari Govind. The Muslim mystics, Mian Mir, Shah Hussain and Buka Shah were on intimacy with Arjun. The historian Barni tells us that Hindus and Musulmans came from distances of one or two hundred kos to see the splendour of Balban's court. From Delhi, Madhwa returned through Bengal to South India.

One of the important reforms connected with the name of Madhwa, is the abolition of animal sacrifices in religious ceremonial. Both Ramanuja and Madhwa strongly condemned this practice. Here is an instance of the Buddhising of Hinduism.

Another important reform was the insistence on simplicity in in temple worship and absolute celibacy of the monks, who conducted the worship. The temple of Krishna, at Udipi, near Mangalore, became a centre of scholarship and the object of devotional fervour.

One of the most favourite Puranas of the Madhwas is the Bhagawatha Purana. It is translated into almost all the languages of India. It contains beautiful poetry and its stories have profoundly influenced the life and conduct of the common man. They have given the same kind of solace to the suffering as the sayings of Epictetus or Marcus Amelius. They have not merely provided

a means of escape but also of fulfilment, to those whose heart-beat was really in harmony with the heart-beat of the world. There are moments of silent prayer when. even for a few minutes, the saint enters into communion with the spirit of the universe and what he utters in those moments of his "Life Divine" are words that move masses of men and women to leave "the beaten track and strike upward to unscaled heights" Such are the moments that produce the hymns in praise of God. Only a few scholars can appreciate the commentaries on the Upanishads, the Sutras and the Bhagwad Gita. Every one is thrilled by the music of the hymns. The movement of Bhakti or devotion is in no sense a negative movement of escapism or defeatism. Ranade traces the national revival in Maharashtra to the saints of Maharashtra. The Mahratta saints, beginning with Dyhaneswar and his sister, Muktabai, composed soul-stirring psalms that converted thousands of people to the cult of devotion. Chaitanya is said to have written not a single work but yet electrified the atmosphere of Bengal, with his devotional ecstasies All the Canarese speaking people, whether they are the doctrinal followers of Madhwa or not. are inspired by the sixteenth centurys Canarese psalmists, Purandara Dasa and Kanaka Dasa. Almost every day we listen from the South Indian stations the music of Purandara Dasa on the air.

Puran Singh, speaking of the inspiration derived from Guru Nanak, writes "Nanak is still with us, his eyes meet ours, his feet we touch, his figure flits before us, his voice still sings in our ears, he is a song and a book." Almost in identical terms. Madhwa's biographer's father praises his master Madhwa, "Thou art verily my mother, Thou art the father, my friend and companion, Thou art my all-in-all. Endow me with an ever-increasing, unselfish and unpretentious life of devotion to you and to God." Like the followers of Nanak, the followers of Madhwa believe that Madhwa is still with them and repeat every day the above praise.

For over a period of half a century, Madhwa fought againt a mere confirmity to rival, that made no appeal to the heart. He made philosphy conform to the inner experiance of the human soul. He proclaimed to his followers, that the true approach of God does not lie in the elaborate sacrifices to the fire or the correct repetition of the hymns or the mere ringing of bells before the image of God. He inspired them with a vision of the divine in man. His appeal was not confined to the cloister and the forest or the Brahman and the priest. Kalyana Devi was the first of a long line of women saints in the Canarese country, that has not yet become completely extinct. Kanaka Dasa was one of the prominent non-brahmin saints that derived his inspiration from Madhwa and is honoured by the most orthodox clergyman as a saint. There are the apostolic successors of the monasteries established by Madhwa, some of

whom, outstanding personalities in the history of relig'on and scholarship, have preserved the traditions scholarship in their monasteries. More numerous are the saints who are no scholiasts, who never cared to obtain publicity as debaters, who led the simple ordinary life of busy men of the world but yet who were possessed with a divine inspiration and whose passionate lyrics to God, to Madhwa and to the long line of Masters that followed him provide an everlasting solace, a hope and a faith, a faith that enables the weary traveller in life to feel at least for a moment, that even on this earth, he can feel himself as if in heaven.

Political power in the Deccan of the fourteenth century was divided between the Bahmani Sultans and the Vijayanagara kings but the cultural activities of the Madhwa monks were extended over the whole area, irrespective of political changes.

Anegondi, at present one of the feudatory Samasthans of H.E.H. the Nizam, was the nucleus out of which arose the city of Vijayanagara. About 1310 A. D. power was in the hands of Vira Kampila Deva, who extended his territory in all directions. To the east and south of Anegondi, flows the River Tungabhadra. To the south of the river are the famous ruins of Hampi, the present name of the former Vijayanagara. There is a small island, splitting the Tungabhadra into two branches, near Anegondi, where we find an enclosure with nine tombs in it. By the side of it is a big cave where the saints are said to have spent their lives in meditation. One of the nine tombs is that of Padmanabha the pontifical successor of Madhwa from 1318 to 1324. He was the author of a sanskrit work, Sanyaya Ratnavali.

About a mile from the island, towards the Hampi village is, another rock island, in the middle of the river. There is the tomb of Narahari Tirtha. He is regarded as the founder of the Dasakuta or groups of singers in the language of the people. A knowledge of sanskrit was no longer necessary to understand the religion of Madhwa. That was a great revolution, similar to the translation of the Bible from Latin into English, on the eve of the European Reformation.

The town of Malkhed, in H E.H. the Nizam's Dominions was the ancient Manyakheta, the Capital of Rashtrakuta Kings. There is an old fort on the River Kagini. The Madhwa monks, Akshobhya and Jaya Tirtha (13-0–1367 and 1367–1388) made Malkhed, their residence. The first dynasty of Vijayanagara showed special favour to the school of Vidyaranya. Vidyaranya was the professor of Adwaita, Vedanta Desika of Visishtadwaita. The latter played the part of an empire in a famous intellectual combat, between Akshobhya of the Dwaita school and Vidyaranya of the Adwaita school. The contest took place at Mulabagal, the

capital of Kennara Kampana, the son of Bukka I, king of Vijayanagara. The electicism of the period is evidenced by the records of similar disputations between the Jains and the Vaishnavas.

Jayatirta was the second outstanding personality in the history of the Madhwa religion, after its founder, Madhwa. His is a remarkable career, like that of Buddha. Born in a wealthy Mahratta family of princes, he enjoyed all that birth and wealth could give. Something happened to turn him away from all worldly glory and he entered the holy orders and became a disciple of Akshobhya. His sanskrit work Nyaya Sudha is considered as a masterpiece of Madhwa philosophy. According to tradition, Vidyaranya paid a visit to the cave at Yeragola near Malkhed, where Jaya Tirtha was busy with his literary work, was impressed with his scholarship and carried him on an elephant in procession. For more than a hundred years Malkhed remained a flourishing centre of this movement and attracted several monks and scholars. Thousands of pilgrims gather from all parts of South India to honour the memory of Jayatirtha at Malkhed every year, about the month of July.

The second dynasty of Vijayanagara bestowed special patronage to the monks of the Madhwa religion. Saluva Narasimha extended his favours to Sri Padaraya, the head of the Mulabagal monastry. Sri Padaraya composed hundreds of musical compositions in the Canarese language and spread the vernacular movement considerably. The temple of Venkatachalapathi, on the hill at Tirupathi received great attention from the Saluva kings and their generals. Sri Padaraya asked his distinguished pupil, Vyasaraya, to go to Vijayanagara. Vyasaraya became the chief adviser of the Vijayanagara king, Krishna Devaraya. Vyasaraya's place in the history of Vijayanagara is well described by a contemporary poet Somanatha, whose work is rendered into English by Mr. Venkoba Rao of the Mysore Civil Service. Vyasaraya was holding the highest ecclesiastical position at Tirupathi, for 12 years and that is the chief reason for the particular reverence shown by the Madhwas to the present day, to the temple at Tirupathi. During the period of Krishna Devaraya, the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja and Madhwa, obtained royal patronage. Vyasaraya gathered a large number of scholars around him. He wrote several glosses on the commentaries of Madhwa's works and is regarded as third in eminence in the history of the Madhwa religion, after its founder and Jaya Tirtha, the great commentator. Vyasaraya obtained royal honours. He was described as the Lord seated on the Karnataka throne. About 1500 A.D. the right of flying a green flag on a camel was conferred on the monastry of Vyasaraya. When Krishna Devaraya left Vijayanagara to conduct a campaign, Vyasaraya was actually discharging the duties of kingship and coins were issued in his honour.

It was at his suggestion that the construction of the most beautiful temple at Hampi—the temple of Vithala, was started.

The period of Vyasaraya, the sixteenth century, was a period of reformation all over the world. In India, it was the period of Chaitanya in Bengal and of Kabri in Northern India. Viyasaraya gathered round him men of all classes and castes. Purandara, the merchant and Kanaka, the out-caste, were among the most famous of his disciples.

One of the most interesting temples, among the ruins at Hampi is that of Yantrodharaka Hanuman, engraved on a rock in a geometrical pattern of intersecting triangles within a circle, a detailed description of which is given in the Report of the Southern circle of Archaelogy—for 1918–19. Interesting icons of Hanuman, the messenger of Rama, Bhima, the strong fighter against the forces of evil and Madhwa, teacher of wisdom are also to be found among the ruins. Some of them are very rare.

One of the disciples of Vyasaraya was Purandara Dasa. His father was a wealthy diamond merchant. He was married and had four sons. Like Jayatirtha he abandoned his wealth, migrated to Vijayanagara and became a follower of Vyasaraya. The name of Purandara is a household word to all lovers of music and song in South India and the Deccan. There is a hall or Mantap on the banks of the River Tungabhadra at Hampi, which is pointed out as the pavilion, where Purandara conducted his song recitals. Though not a scholar, endowed with book learning, Purandara was one of those whom Arabindo would describe as a gnostic being. To such a being, caste has no meaning—such a being, having achieved wholeness in himself, looks at the universe as a whole. Purandara and his colleageaus the Haridasas of the 16th century, played an important part in that reintegration that was so much needed in the India of the 16th century. Both Purandara and Kanaka lived long and profoundly influenced the life of the people of South India and the Deccan.

Another disciple of Vyasaraya who belongs to the history of the 16th century was Vadiraja. He travelled widely all over India and his pilgrim Travels, the Tirtha Prabhanda, is a valuable record. He popularised the worship of Hayagriva, the God bearing the head of a horse, with 4 hands, holding the couch, the rosary, the book and the Jnanamudra (thumb and middle finger touching each other), the symbol of imparting knowledge. He is the god of learning and wisdom, as Saraswati is the goddess of learning—He was also a great scholar in Sanskrit and Canarese. He introduced several reforms in the conduct of worship, in the temple at Udipi. He converted the goldsmiths of Canara to Vaishnavaism. He composed

songs in the Tulu language—one of the dialects of Canara. He emphasised the importance of a fortnightly fast, which is held in considerable importance by the followers of this sect. He popularised the essential teachings of Madhwa, in his Canarese work, Maha Bharata Tatparya Nirnaya. The Canarese songs and the Tatparya Nirnaya of Vadiraja, enable men and women, ignorant of the sanskrit language, to understand the essentials of Madhwaism.

The most conspicuous of the Madhwa monks and scholars of the 17th century is Raghavendra (601–1671 A.D.) His tomb is situated on the banks of the River Tungabhadra, in the extreme north of the Adoni Taluq in the District of Bellary. An annual festival is held in the month of August, which attracts pilgrims from all parts of South India. The Muslim governor of Adoni from 1662 to 1687, made the grant of the landed endowment attached to the tomb. After the cession of those territories to the British, there was some difficulty about the continuance of the endowment. The District Gezetteer of Bellary mentions an incident connected with the popular collector of Bellary, Sir Thomas Munro, who ended his career as the governor of Madras. Munro went to the village to make enquiries. "After removing his boots and taking off his hat he approached the grave. The saint thereupon emerged from the tomb and met him. They conversed together for some time regarding the resumption but though the saint was visible and audible to Munro—who was himself, the people declare, semi-divine none of the others who were there could either see him or hear what he said. The discussion ended, Munro returned to his tent and quashed the proposal to resume the endowment." Sir Thomas Munro captured the imagination of the people of the ceded districts and is remembered to the present day as the father of the people.

Raghavendra was the fourth great personality in the Madhwa tradition, after Madhwa, Jayatirtha and Vyasaraya He wrote several glosses on the works of his predecessors. Simplicity and directness are the qualities of his works. He obtained great reputation for his healing powers. His relics are carried to several places in South India and Brindavanas or Stupas are constructed over them. Successive generations of men and women have kept his memory green, by their praises and hymns.

PART II.

The Nabobs of Savanur in the 18th century and their ministers extended their patronage to Madhwa monks and singers. We have seen that of all the Puranas the Bhagavatha made a special appeal to the Vaishnavas all over India. Several commentaries have been written and several selections have been made, of such verses as are most appealing to the emotions. One of the saints of the eighteenth century, Jayatirtha or Vishnu Tirtha was born in the village of Siddapur, near Savanur. His father's name was Balachurya and mother's name Bhagirathi. His year of birth was 1756 A.D. After upanayana or investitute with the sacred thread he was sent to Aiji Acharya for his education. Aiji is a village in Gadwal. He (Aiji) is the author of a devotional work Mandanandini in sanskrit, a commentary on the Bhagawatha. He lived from 1704 to 1800 A.D. After his period of education, Vishnu Tirtha returned home, led the life of a householder for some time and entered holy orders, being initiated by monk Satyavara. He refused to bear the burdens of pontifical office and led the simple life of a scholar, in a secluded place at Munupalle village on the banks of the Malapraharani river. He obtained celebrity as an able exponent of Nyaya Suddha and was the author of several sanskrit works, like Bhagawatha Sarodhara, Shodasi, Chaturdasi and Adhyatma Rasa Ranjani. He died in 1806 A.D.

The Sarodhara is published. The others are in manuscript. The Bhagawatha Purana contains 12 books and 344 chapters. Vishnu Tirtha has selected 367 verses and rearranged them, with his own commentary in simple and appealing sanskrit and brought out the essential teaching of this most popular Purana. The Bhagawatha Dharma or code of conduct, as developed by his interpretation, makes a universal appeal like the Buddha Dharma. In my paper on Buddhism in the Deccan, I have drawn some parellels between the Buddha Dharma and Bhagawatha Dharma. The problem is the same. What is the good life and how to attain it? Good life is not the monopoly of those who are born in a particular caste. Good life is not the result of mere book learning. The mere performance of sacrifices to the fire is of no avail. Faith in one's mission in life and the performance of one's duty, undeterred by weal or woe, are the means of fulfilling the moral law. The example of several kings like Bali, Rahugana Muchukunda and Priyavrata is quoted to illustrate the inefficacy of a forest life as a wandering monk, if the passions are not subdued, and the efficacy of a householder's life, if service takes the place of selfishness. We are asked to place duty above pleasure, to take time by the forelock, to derive inspiration from the lives of great men, who posses equanimity (Samachittah), who are free from anger (Vinanyanah) and

who are kind to all (Suhundah). The good man should neither indulge in self praise nor condemn the great ones, the Bhagawathas. It is pride and jealousy that makes us condemn others. The great ones are not affected by our insults. It is only ourselves that suffer for the wrong.

The ethical code prescribed here is not different from the disinterested action taught in the Gita or the life of action taught in Upanishads, where you are asked to live a hundred years performing actions. Neither the Buddha Dharma nor the Bhagawatha Dharma taught us inaction. Both insist on a rigid dicipline, a severe and systematic training of the soul, as important as the training of the body and the training of the mind, for the fullest development of the personality of the individual. Obedience to parents and elders, study and learning, association with the wise and service to them, self-denial, absence of self-praise, not finding fault with others, endurance, equanimity, contentment, sincerity, the will to give more than the will to get, are all qualities, that can be acquired by training the will to obtain them and are the means by which a few highly developed individuals may be able to obtain that illumination which is the goal of perfection. For the rest the training is of value in enabling them to perform their duties, in whatever station of life, time and environment have placed them, most efficiently, as if under the great Task Master's eye. Vishnu Tirtha sums up the essence of the teaching of Bhagawatha as follows :—" Full of unalloyed devotion to God, full of devotion to the devotees of God according to their rank, abandoning all worldly desires, not reviling others or flattering oneself, calmly enduring with patience the ups and downs of life, realising that all words and sounds primarily describe and denote, God; diverting the mind, speech, bodily activity towards God, abandoning greed, jealousy and anger, realising that God is within you and endows you with intellect and prompts you to action, that He is also without you, bestowing the fruits of all knowledge and action, that He is the Doer, the enjoyer and the lord of all senses, constantly thinking of Him in all conditions of life, while standing, sitting or resting—even if such a man remains a householder, he does not render himself liable to a rebirth ".

The Nabobs of Karnatak and their officers also extended their patronage to the Madhwa saints of the 18th century. Political rivalries in South India of the 18th century, did not act as a hindrance to the free cultural activity of groups of these monks. Satyapriya, Satyabodha and Satyasandha the successive heads of a monastery, travelled throughout the Deccan and South India. Satyapriya obtained grants of villages from three Rajas of Peddapuram, in the Godavari District, for the maintenance of scholars

and the propagation of sanskrit learning. Sri Vidwat Timma Jagapathi Maharaja, 1760–1797 was a great patron of letters and welcomed scholars to his court. Poet praised his love of learning.

Vatsa Vaya Timma Bhupala Naruniyandu
Bandithasrita Varakavi Pakshapatha
Gurianu Sahajambugaga Bagugarachinche
Dharma Nirmana Gunasali Tammicheli.

Monk Satyasandha was held in highest esteem by the Raja of Vijianagaram in the Northern Circars.

The Samasthan of Gadwal in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions is full of interest to students of Madhwa religion and history. The chiefs of Gadwal were great patrons of Sanskrit, Telugu and Canarese learning. The Raichur Doab, between the River Tungabhadra and River Krishna produced numerous psalmists and singers from among the followers of Madhwa. Many of them were simple, unsophisticated villagers. They had no advantage of scholarship or any systematic intellectual training. They bear comparison, not to the Pandits of Benares but to mystics, like Kabir or Chaitanya. They were scattered all around Gadwal in the villages of Aiji, Rajoli, Venisompur, Darur, Chintalveli, Sankapuram, Madanikallu, Uttanur and Bichpalli. Mention has already been made of the scholar of Aiji, to whom, Vishnu Tirtha was sent for his education. His teacher, Monk Bhuvanendra lived at Rajoli. Two of the popular singers, Timmanna and Mohana lived in the villages of Uttanur and Sankapuram. The singer, Seshadasa was a Patwari at Darur. The best known among them were Vijaya Dasa, 1687 to 1755 and Jagannatha Dasa, 1727 to 1809. Vijaya Dasa was born at Chikalpari in Manvi Taluqa of the Raichur District. The village is situated on the River Tungabhadra. He died at Chippagiri, 5 miles from the Guntakal Railway Station. Jagannatha Dasa was born in a village called Byagavathi, Manvi Taluq, Raichur District. Unlike Vijaya Dasa, who sufferred poverty, Jagannatha Dasa belonged to a Kulkarni family and received education in Sanskrit and Canarese. His Harikathamritasara, or the essence of the Nectar of the stories of God is a very popular and inspiring book, expounding the teachings of Madhwa in musical Canarese verse. If Vishnu Tirtha's Sarodhara conveys in simple and appealing Sanskrit prose the steps leading to Illumination, Jagannatha Dasa's Harikathamrithasara and his songs and psalms in equally simple and beautiful Canarese describe the qualities of those Bhagawathas, who have obtained the Illumination. "They are not aware of any god except the one God. To the outside world, they appear as deaf and dumb and foolish people. They

entertain no crooked thoughts. Victory and defeat, profit, and loss, honour and dishonour, safety and danger, happiness and misery, gold and clay, the beautiful and the ugly, praise and insult are equally acceptable to them as gifts from God. They are free from the shakles of desire, anger, jealousy and passion. They never forget to perform their allotted duty, in conformity with the time and place, in which their lots are cast. They are respected by all. They are immersed in joyful bliss. They laugh, they weep, they dance. Their mind is never away from God". This is one of the most popular songs in the Canarese country even to this day. Jagannatha Dasa was held in the highest esteem by Purniah, Diwan of Mysore under Tipu Sultan.

The essence of the teaching of all those saints was that caste is not merely a matter of birth but of character and that the lower forms of worship should give place to the worship of the One Hignest God.

The movement of the Haridasas or the popular singers is one of the most living faiths in the Deccan. Lingsugur, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions was the residence of a group of these singers in the 19th century. There are several in Mysore to the present day. Some of them have received education in English and have held the highest positions in the public service. The religious movement of Madhwa was never a disruptive movement. It was not militant in its activities. It received the support of the rulers, both Hindu and Muslim. It played an important part in the social and administrative system of South India and the Deccan for nearly 300 years. Most liberal endowments were made to the monasteries of this sect, by the Hindu and Muslim Rulers of South India and the Deccan. Several of them continue to enjoy the endowments to the present day. The administrative services rendered by some of these Madhwa families, two hundred or three hundred years ago are evidenced by the survival of the official names, prefixed to their personal names. Pheelkhana Majumdar, Bakshi, Pharsee and Baru indicate that these offices were held by them, almost on a hereditary basis. The Madhwa movement was a socio-religious-cultural movement of the middle ages creating a new integration of life and giving an impetus to its followers to fresh movements of creative activity, absobing and synthesising the varous cultural forces that were brought to bear, on the life of the people of South India and the Deccan, from the beginning of the 14th century.

Some Poona Akhbars in the Daftar-e-Divani

BY

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AN ambitious monarch has always to keep himself fully informed regarding the activities of the neighbouring princes so that he can direct an efficient administration for peace and progress of his subjects or prudently plan aggression for conquest of new lands. It is no wonder that the enlightened Nizams of Hyderabad should have established an organization for acquiring such reports from the neighbouring states. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur (1762 A.C. to 1803 A.C.) seems to have been deeply interested in securing such reports from Poona and the Daftar-e-Divani of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government possesses a large collection of such Akhbars in the Marathi Section. Thanks are offered to the authorities of the Daftar-e-Divani for their kindness in allowing me to study these Akhbars.

There are some stray letters, like Akhbars, dating from 1763 A.C. but those that start from 1773 A.C., that is after the assasination of Narayan Rao Peshwa and the rise of Nana Farnavis, indisputably display a remarkable efficiency of the reporters. (Narayan Rao was murdered on the 30th of August 1773 A.C. and the earliest Akhbar in the collection is dated the 10th of December 1773). The latest Akhbars refer to the year 1793 A.C. There is one Akhbar even from the Bhonsles of Nagpur and bears the following date : 10–1–1792 A.C.

This makes us believe that there were agents of the Nizam at various courts e.g. at Gwalior, at Indore and at Baroda. This also shows that there was a regular organization that was manned and directed most efficiently. In an Akhbar from Poona despatched on the 21st of Moharrum 1191 A.H. i.e. the 1st of March 1777 A.C. there is a reference to instructions received regarding the payment and appointment of messengers and couriers.

> "The demanded amount of the arrears of the new carriers till the end of Shawwal has been received. The receipt for Rs 134/8/- out of which three rupees were to be deducted as the discount of the bill has been separately forwarded with a detailed letter etc.......... Appointments have been made only for an year."

(From Itihasadarsha :—A Marathi History of Rai Rayan family)

The leading Maratha nobles with the Nizam during these days were the ancestors of the Rai Rayan family. The brothers Dhondaji Shankar (1728-1773 A.C.) and Nanaji Shankar (1730-1785 A.C.) acted as foreign secretaries wherever Maratha States were concerned. They seem to have been trusted diplomats both of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur and the Peshwas. Dhondajipunt was made a Daftardar, immediately after the death of his father in 1759 A.C. His services seem to have won progressive favour from his Royal Master. He was granted a Mansab of two hundred rupees on the 26th of January 1767 A.C. An additional Mansab of seven hundred rupees and the title of 'Rai' was conferred upon him on the 24th of May 1767 A.C. Dhondajipunt was awarded a Mansab of a thousand rupees and the title 'Rai Rayan Diyant Ram' on the 22nd of May 1768 A. C. On the 27th of April 1773 A.C. he was entrusted with the responsibility of Naib Divan. His Mansab was being raised progressively. He was titled as 'Diyanatvant' on the 27th of October 1770 A. C. Even the Peshwas have rewarded Dhondaji Ram with grants and Jagirs. Mouje Raipur and Mouje Sangvi in Aurangabad division were conferred as Jagirs on the 27th of April 1763 A.C. and on the 17th of May 1767 A.C. Mouje Lamangaon in Aurangabad division was further granted as Jagir on the 2nd of October 1774 A.C.

The younger brother Nanaji Shankar also seems to have been a very efficient and intelligent politician. He was awarded the Mohriri of four divisions viz. Aurangabad, Vijapur, Berars and Khandesh, on the 24th of April 1766 A.C. He was winning more and more Mansabs for successful services. He was granted the title of 'Amanatwant' on the 21st of February 1772 A. C. The Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761-1772 A.C.) granted him Jagirs of Adgaon and eleven villages on the 9th of March 1762 A. C. On the 17th of May 1767 A. C. he got further Jagir of Mouje Rela in Aurangabad division from the Peshwa. Nanaji Shankar in collaboration with Nawab Vikaruddaula Bahadur led the delegation from Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur for developing diplomatic relations with the Peshwa. One of the Akhbars despatched from Purandar on the 11th of February 1776 A.C. mentions the fact that they had reached the same day. These Akhbars seem to be penned by half a dozen writers with their own individual differences in the style of writing. But none except one mentions his name and that is Haibat Rao Gopal who always very humbly and respectfully addresses his master the Rai Rayan In the manuscript collection of the Osmania University could be discovered a fragmentary Modi Bakhar, a chronicle, of the Maratha Rulers. On page 141 of this Bakhar it is stated, "Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur despatched presents of robes and jewellery to the newly born posthumous Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao with Nanaji Shankar and Haibat Rao

Gopal. When Nanaji returned to Hyderabad he left Haibat Rao Gopal at Poona, to act as news reporter: "Akhbar Nawis".

No doubt a large number of Marathi documents of the latter half of the eighteenth century are published in the Volumes of the Peshwa Daftar and other series, yet these 'Akhbars' and many other documents scribed under Asaf Jahi influence, must be individualized as a group by itself, displaying a preponderance of Persian and Arabic influence. The Poona 'Akhbars' are so much surcharged with Persian phraseology that even an expert who is non-mulki may find it rather difficult to comprehend every word in the 'Akhbar' without a thorough grounding of Persian. But a mulki Maratha, brought up and bred up in the state, cannot find much difficulty in understanding these words, because the Marathi spoken in the state is evolving from the same stock and under the same influence. The fact that reports are generally despatched on Saturdays, Friday being taken up as the week end, shows Asaf Jahi influence. The reporters are very meticulous in reporting events, from Prahar to Prahar and Ghatika to Ghatika. (There are 60 Ghatikas, and 8 Prahars during 24 hours. A Prahar=three hours and a Ghatika=24 minutes.) The places that are closely watched by them are the palace of the Peshwa and the residence of Nana Farnavis, who is generally referred to as the "Madarul-Maham". The Peshwa during his childhood stayed on the fort at Purandar near Poona, when Purandar alone had become the centre from which radiated all political activities. The Akhbars though styled Poona Akhbars are also from Purandar. Closest attention has been bestowed upon the boy-Peshwa, Madhav Rao II, and Nana Farnavis, the principal man behind the machine. This naturally throws sufficient light on all administration. Generals like Haripunt Phadke, Parashurampunt Patwardhan, Ramachandra Ganesh Kanade, Bhim Rao Panse, Mahadajee Behara, Visajeepunt Biniwale and Murar Rao Ghorapade or envoys like Krishna Rao Ballal, Sadashiv Dinkar, Ramaji Patil, all hall had to meet Nana and the Peshwa to get orders and direction. Letters from North India and massages from South India are received at Poona and the news writers report even the contents and gists of these. The reporters always strike a discrimination between a rumour and a fact. Their omnipresence is startling. They will write Nana and Haripunt were tete-a-tete for a 'Prahar' and the object of the confidential meeting could be hunted out as follows: stating the matter in details. Madhav Rao II was invested with the robes of the Peshwa on the 40th day of his birth i.e the 28th of May 1774 A.C. Nana Farnavis, with his own limitations, was extremely vigilant regarding the education and upbringing of the Peshwa The Peshwa used to attend darbars, be present at diplomatic negotiations and also have interviews with Sardars In an Akhbar' despatched from Purandar on the 10th of March 1777 A.C. mention is made that Raghuji

Bhosle could not meet Madhav Rao because the latter's mother had mestrusted. The boy of two could not be controlled and governed to stay in the presence of strangers, plucked out from the lap of a mother: untouchability being observed during menstruation. Her presence in privacy in the close vicinity was quite necessary. This reminds one of the early rule of Nawab Meer Mahaboob Ali Khan Bahadur Asaf Jah the VI in his childhood under the regency council. The Peshwa was being drilled into orthodox religious discipline. He used to get up early in the morning, then perform Puja and morning Sandhia and hear vocal music. He used to visit the shrine at Parbati daily and practise horse riding exercise in the Ramana, an open and extensive yard for the assemblage of Brahmins at the end of Shravan, when annually thousands of Brahmins were given Dakshana. Sometimes he proceeded to Parbati with a large retinue of Sardars and their forces. On one occasion the Peshwa was shown a map to explain how Fateh Ali Khan, the general of Haidar suddenly descended the Ghat near Bangalore and frustrated the plans of the English. Mention is made of this in Akhbar dated the 23rd of April 1791 A.C. He practised archery in the palace and took delight in wild animals. Deer and stags were fed under his supervision. In one of the Akhbars there is a reference to the presentation of a wild cat 'Siah Gosh' to the Peshwa. It seems he was delighted in maintaining a representative menagerie. Madhav Rao attended the gymnasium and learnt tricks of wrestling. He was interested in witnessing the combats of wrestlers and feats of acrobats and rewarding them with gold wristlets and reference to this is made in an Akhbar dated the 9th of April 1789 A.C. The Peshwa took interest in indoor games like the Chousar, Ganjifa and the chess. The Peshwa fasted on the Ekadashi day and went to Parwati early in the morning and spent an hour or two worshipping the diety. On special occasions he visited other shrines as the Ganapati in the Kasba Peth. On the days of eclipses he observed all the religious injuctions, bathing before and after the eclipse, fasting and giving alms in charity.

It seems that his social life also was being progressively developed. He attended social functions like marriages and sacred thread ceremonies, took part in the music and dancing entertainments, received betels, scents and garlands, offered costly presents to the wedded couples. Akhbars despatched on the 9th of April 1789 A.C from Poona mentions that the Peshwa visited the residence of Ali Bahadur in honour of the circumcision ceremony of Shamsher Bahadur and gave suitable presents of robes etc. The Peshwa took profound interest in the Holi celebrations. The Holi comes off on the full moon day of Phalguna but the Akhbar despatched on the 8th of march 1784 says that the jubilant activities were commenced a fortnight earlier. The Holi is a peculiar ceremony amongst the Hindus. The suppressed urge for doing

the indecent and the obscene is given a free vent during a day or two. The day following the full moon day is spent in besmearing the bodies especially with ashes and mud and filthy water. On the Rangapanchamy i.e. the 5th day of the dark half of Phalguna coloured water is sprinkled, and sprayed and showered through syringes, the black and red scented powders are dusted and all this is done to the accompaniment of dancing and music. The Peshwa had all his boyish whims freely given vent to.

Nana Phadanavis's personality as reported by the news-writers seems to be very active, intelligent, inquistive and stern. Nana's direction and scrutiny of accounts and office routine seem to be faultless. Every day Mutsadies, the Mamledars, and the Darakdars connected with Mali and Mulki affairs present themselves and he attends to their work, by himself when at his own residence, and along with the Peshwa when at his palace. He was always accessible to prominent officials and had confidential talks with them. He visited the English envoys, who awaited his arrival, if absent from station. There are references to the fact that at the year end he checked the rolls of Arab guards. He was deeply religious, acted according to religious injunctions even in minutest details. He observed the Ekadashi, fasted on the day and went to the Belbagh early in the morning instead of visiting it in the evening as usual. He also paid homage to various other shrines in Poona. On the eclipse-day he too had bathed before and after the duration of the eclipse and offered alms. Mention is made, in an Akhbar despatched on the 4th of August 1787 A.C., that due to the Dhondavan, a religious ceremony, Nana fed 150 Brahmins in his own house and gave them a half rupee bit each. At the shrine of Jejuri, during a celebration and a fare hundreds of pilgrims suddenly died in a day or two. This was explained as the result of divine wrath and official agents were despatehed to perform pacificatory rites. He has attended a Hari Keerthan i.e. a devotional recitation of the careers of Awatars and saints. The social aspect of his life also was vigorous. He attended banquets. In one of the Akhbars despatched on the 22nd of August 1777 A.C. mention is made of his having attended a marriage at the residence of Mardan Ali Khan Jagirdar. He was invited to inspect new additions to and constructions of houses. He has gone to condone bereaved parties upon the deaths of their near and dear ones. It can be gathered from reports that he was a great task-master and a stern disciplinarian. Parashuram Bhau Mirajkar wanted leave to go to Nasik due to Sinhasta, a significant stellar position. He flatly refused on the ground that his attention and presence were urgently needed to put a brake to the growing English aggression. He further said that he himself had cancelled his visit to Toke for a religious dip into the Godavari. Fateh Singh Bhonsle of Akkalkot was comming to Poona. This Bhonsle's father was looked upon as

adopted son by Shahu and very much regarded by him. The Peshwa himself had gone to meet him on the bank of the Ghasiram tank with a large retinue of Sardars but Nana was conspicuous by his absence. The Bhonsle brothers had come to meet Nana at his residence. They were under the impression that at least here Nana would come in advance a few steps, to receive them warmly. But Nana was adamant. The Bhonsles had to come and meet him as commoners. At the prolonged Holi celebration in the palace of the Peshwa, the reporters are very clever in noting that Nana attended the music and the dance and left the palace after which started the mud-besmearing and colour spraying activities. It is also reported, Nana used to take some daily medicine and some times he has returned to his residence only to have this and then atonce proceeded to the Belabagh.

The Akhbars produce a general impression on the mind of the reader that life at Poona was prosperous and happy. The administration was efficient. Thefts and robberies were taken notice of and the culprits were punished, though according to the crude standards of penalizing as obtained during those days. Three miscreants had murdered some dancing girls at night and absconded with their jewellery. They were searched out and kept in the lock-out. It was discovered that one was totally innocent and he was let off and the two were tied to the legs of elephants and paraded through the city till they died. A fellow was entrusted with the work of preparing a necklace by putting silk bands and threads through pearls. He knocked away the genuine pearls and substituted counterfeit ones. At the discovery of the crime, the head of the fellow was cut off. One of the dignified matrons of the Peshwa household was passing through the bazzar street in a palanquine with a large retinue. Mahalinga Rao Ghorpade, a dignitary of the court was passing by the same road with an advance-guard. There was some jostling on the narrow road which resulted into a light skirmish. The Ghorpade's men were rather high-handed but they had to yield and the lady was safely escorted to the palace. The Sardar was conveyed to Nana's residence by force and was reprimanded for his misbehaviour. But this gives us a peep into the life of the city which seems to be busy and humming.

The political events relate to the English affairs. Raghunath Rao, the younger son of Baji Rao I was a very brave and ambitious person. After the death of his elder brother Balaji Baji Rao, the III Peshwa, in 1761 A.C., Raghunath Rao aspired for the Peshwaship. But his nephew, Madhav Rao I, a boy of sixteen was preferred to him. The young Peshwa proved equal to the task and easily eclipsed his uncle. Madhav Rao died in 1772 A.C., and yet Raghunath Rao could not secure the Peshwaship for himself. Narayan Rao, the brother of Madhav Rao, became the Peshwa

but unfortunately he was murdered on the 30th of August 1773 A.C. And the general verdict of history runs that Raghunath Rao had a hand in the heinous atrocity. This unscrupulous and dissatisfied member of the Peshwa family was a fertile subject through which to sow dissensions in the Maratha Camp and the eagle-eyed English were quick to mark it. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur did not give quarter to Raghunath Rao, on the contrary he recognized the baby-Peshwa by sending presents as mentioned before. The English authorities at Bombay had accurately gauged the situation, due to their vicinity, and had sheltered Raghunath Rao promising to fight for his cause. But Hastings who had become the Governor General and who wanted to concentrate all authority in his own hands disliked that the Bombay Governor should have direct dealings with the Marathas. Hastings wrote to Bombay that their dealings with Raghunath Rao were "unjust, impolitic, dangerous and unauthorized" (Forrest pp. 238). Colonel Upton was despatched from Calcutta to Poona to settle the terms of treaty with the Marathas. The English could not abide by the terms and they had posted Moyston at Poona who began to interfere with the Maratha affairs. Nana Farnavis entertained St. Lubin and there is a reference to his stay in one of the Akhbars. This Mons. Lubin had presented a moving picture of the scene of Narayen Rao's murder to the Peshwa Durbar. Nana's motive in welcoming the French gentleman was to belittle the importance of Moysten. There is also mention of Charles Malet and Macpherson. An Akhbar dated the 30th of October 1781 A.C. refers to the fact how Chaith Singh defeated Warren Hastings between Benares and Allahabad. In an Akhbar despatched on the 9th of August 1781 A.C., it is reported that an English merchantman laden with cargo worth two lacs was confiscated at Suvarna Durga by the Marathas. At Surat, one of the chaukidars of Raghunath Rao had a clash with an Englishman who died of the wound. The English seized the chaukidar and killed him. Raghunath Rao was afraid of this and ran forty miles away from Surat. This incident is reported in Akhbar' dated the 18th of August 1781 A.C, A French person is reported to have interviewed the Maratha Karbharies and promised on payment of five lacs to strengthen their navy so that they could put down the English. Mention to this is made in Akhbar despatched on the 25th of November 1781 A.C. The movements of the army of General Goddard are frequently reported.

The relations of the Marathas with Haidar Ali and Tippu are mentioned in many of the Akhbars. Haidar Ali seems to have been extremely ambitious to acquire fresh regions towards the north of his dominions. He was ever watchful to reap benefit from the weaker fold of the Marathas. In an Akhbar despatched on the 11th of February 1776 A. C. it is reported that Murar Rao Ghorpade's position at Gooty was made very precarious by Haidar

Ali. The Marathas had despatched their able General Parashurampunt Mirajkar to check Haidar Ali's aggression. An Akhbar despatched on the 24th of February 1777 A.C. reports that Muhammad Ali Kamandan, Haidar Ali's general had dislodged his barricades in the vicinity of Dharwar and had advanced beyond Hubli. The relations seems to have become somewhat smoother when, as mentioned in the Akhbar despatched on the 4th of May 1777 A.C., Haidar Ali's pickets in the Sounde, Bidnur region were withdrawn due to Maratha advance. It is reported in the Akhbar of the 9th of October 1779 A.C that two envoys of Haidar Ali, Gulam Hussain and Abdul Nabi went to Poona to interview the Maratha general and the Peshwa. A great durbar was held at the Palace of the Peshwa, the two envoys were ceremoniously marshalled by Laxuman Rao Raste to the audience hall. The envoys presented two young ones of elephants to the Peshwa who also entertained them with garlands, robes and scents. An Akhbar despatched on the 25th of November 1781 A.C. makes a mention that Haidar Ali was thoroughly routed at Chinnapattan (Madras) by the English and that his son-in-law was wounded. Noor Khan, Haidar's envoy had appeared at Poona and was negotiating through Laxuman Rao Raste to secure the Maratha aid. The Akhbar of the 24th of April 1790 A.C. refers to the matter of the accumulated arrears of tribute to be paid by Tippu. The Poona authorities demanded entire clearance of the balances while the envoys urged to accept as much as was ready money on hand.

Letters are received at Poona regarding the affairs of north India. And the Asaf Jahi reporters secure their gist and transmit it to Hyderabad. An Akhbar of the 28th of July 1787 A.C. reports the movements of Ali Bahadar, the Scindia, the Holkar and the princes of Jaipore and Jodhpur. Ismail Beg first attacked Ali Bahadar and Holkar, but due to some secret understanding Ismail Beg, Jodhpur and Jaipur formed an alliance against the Scindia, and hence Ali Bahadar and Holkar assumed neutrality. Later, as mentioned in the Akhbar of April 1789 A.C. even the Sikhs rise against the Scindia. These affairs throw sufficient light on the mutual jealousies between the Scindia and the Holkar.

The prince at Kolhapur also caused a great annoyance to the Poona authorities. Yesaji Scindia, his general, was endeavouring to cause as much havoc as possible in the Panhala division, and was extorting tributes from people. Manaji Phakade also extended Yesaji Scindia's nefarious activities. Ramachandra Ganesh Kanade was set upon him to arrest these mischiefs. Mention is made of this in numerous Akhbars as for example in the Akhbar dated the 12th of March 1777 A C.

The most outstanding point frequently referred to in the Akhbars regarding internal affairs is the problem of the inflated arrears of the army under Haripunt Phadke. Though a brave

general and a seasoned veteran, Haripunt could not have a forceful hold on the army. Unhappily the arrears of the army created acute dissatisfaction which disorganized the discipline. And matters came to such a pass, as reported in the Akhbar despatched on the 11th of March 1777 A.C., that Sadashiv Dinkar, paymaster of Haripunt's army was rudely assaulted by the soldiers on being obliged to say a nay to the rightful demands of the soldiers. The assaulter was done to death forthwith yet even the paymaster had to succumb to the wounds. Haripunt was incapacitated to lead campaigns. And the Karbharies had to secure Moroba Dada's confidence and enlist his service as a commander of the army. Akhbar despatched on the 1st March 1777 A C. reports how Nana Farnavis had deputed Krishna Rao Ballal to win over Moroba Dada. He apparently pretends detachment from mundane affairs but is brought round to accept the command under certain conditions. They being that Raghunath Rao should be properly treated and liberally paid, and the arrears of the army should be cleared. In an Akhbar despatched on the 9th of August 1781 A.C. the date of Sakhram Bapu's demise is mentioned as the 2nd of August 1781 A.C. while Sardesai in one of his 'Riyasats' gives this as the 7th of September 1781 A.C. The relations between the Nizam and the Peshwa seem to be very harmonious during these days. No incident of any significance has occured that could be reported except a few stray things here and there. In an Akhbar dated the 26th of March 1777 A.C. a mention is made that Mubarizul-Mulk desired to be exempted from the Chouth, the Sardeshmukhi and the Sahotra taxes in his Jagirs. In another of the 9th of August 1781 A.C. there is reference to the disturbances caused by the Holkar in Vijapur and Gandapur Paraganas. The same Akhbar further mentions that Azmatut-daula has advanced to check him. An Akhbar dated the 28th of August 1777 A.C. mentions the facts that the Hazrat Shah Sahib of Aurangabad had sent baskets of grapes as presents to the Peshwa and other dignitaries as usual. The importance of the Peshwa seems to have been recognized even in north India. Mention is made in one of the Akhbars of presents of robes being annually sent by the Maharaj of the Gujarathies. Parbat Singh an envoy of Moin Singh, the Raja of Gadhegot had, as represented in the Akhbars, dated the 4th of August 1787 A.C. sent robes of honour with his envoy.

A thorough study of all the Akhbars is yet to be made. A few of the typical ones are studied for the present. As all the facts reported are observed by eye-witnesses they have the merit of being first rate evidence for the reconstruction of history. These Akhbars are as much diapassionate as they should be. They are not the biassed views of any traveller or pilgrim. They are the honest work of persons who were paid for the duties rendered and appreciated by their masters.

The Menagerie of the Peshwa—its site and description given in contemporary Records

(between A.D. 1778 and 1794)

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A., CURATOR, B. O. R. INSTITUTE, POONA.

IN a note published in the Proceedings[1] in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodnan Mandal, Poona, Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, C.I.E., has identified the place of Peshwa's menagerie (*Sikarkhana*) in the City of Poona on the strength of a sale-deed of property dated *Saka 1700*=A. D. 1778. According to this identification the site of the Peshwa's menagerie is now occupied by (1) the house of one Mr. N. R. Gunjal and (2) the temple of Sri Narahari. Sardar Mujumdar is of opinion that this temple of Narahari is not an ancient one but constructed during the last days of the Peshwa's rule.

In view of the above identification of the site of the Peshwa's menagerie as proved by a document of A. D. 1778 we are curious to know if there are any contemporary descriptions of this menagerie by foreign visitors or other writers of the time. But this problem may better be left to the expert historians of the Peshwa period of the Maratha history. I shall, however record here the description of the above menagerie as given by Edward Moor[2] about A. D. 1790 and recorded by him in his *Narrative* published in London in A. D. 1794. This description reads as follows:—
Page 366 of Moor's *Narrative*—

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1. See *Itivrtta* of the B. I. S Mandal, Poona,.........p. 8—The house of Sardar Mujumdar is situated at present in the Kasala Peth, Poona City, House No. 297. The site of this house was purchased by the grand-father of the grand father of Sardar Mujumdar of the name *Naro Nilakantha* from its owners (1) *Shivaji Shankar* and (2) *Narasingrao Ballal* of the *Mandavagane* family of Poona. On this site a house was constructed by the forefathers of Sardar Mujumdar viz. *Naro Gangadhar* and his son *Nilkantha Narayana*. In the sale-deed of this site the boundaries are mentioned as follows:— "To the East *Malhar Ram Bapat*, to the South *Mairal Naravan Gapcup*, to the west the menagerie (*Sikarkhana*) of the Sarkar (=Peshwa), beyond that a road, to the North a lane and beyond that *Bhatambhat Dhure* etc."

The sale-deed is dated *Saka 1700*, *vilambi nama Saimvatsara*, *Asvina*, Suddha 1.

2. For biographical details of Edward Moor vide page 313 of *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XIX which contains my paper on the Hindu Nose-ornament.

"The Peshwa has a *menagerie*(1) of wild animals but is not a large, nor a very select collection. It consists of a *rhinoceros*, a *lion*, several royal *tigers*, *leopards*, *panthers* and other animals of the Cat kind.—An extraordinary *camel* is by far the most curious creature in the collection: it is of that species called, we believe, the Bacterian Camel,(2) and has two humps of such unwieldy dimensions, that when lying down it cannot easily rise from their enormous weight: it is quite white, with very long hair, a characteristic of its species, about its head and neck. The animal is of course a *lusus natura*. It was, as well as the *rhinoceros*, a present from Scindia The *lynx* is a delicate animal, called in India and Persia from its black ears *seeha-goosh*,(3) Sir Charles Malet(4) has all these animals, with others, represented in clay by a Brahmin,(5) who has great merit in his modellings(6):

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1. *Rajavyavahara kosa* composed by order of Shivaji the Great by Raghunatha Pandita contains the following verses about *Sikarkhana* :—

"शिकारर्वाना पर्वक्षिशाला शिकारी मृगयुर्मतः ॥२१ ॥
जनावरैं पक्षिणा स्युः शिकारे मृगयुर्मत : ॥
हंपनाक : पक्षिरक्षा व्याघ्र : शेर इति स्मृत : ।
स्याद्वीपिपालश्चिंत्रवान चित्रातु द्वीपिनामक : ॥ २२ ॥

— भोग्यवर्ग

On *22nd July 1754* some expenditure on Peshwa's *Sikarkhana* is recorded in connection with a "जवादो मांजर" (vide *Peshwa Daftar* XXII,—No. 152, p. 95).

2. The Bectrian Camel is represented on the reverse of the coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Kadphises I (about *20 A D.*) In in the *12th Century A.D.* the Bactrian Camel with two humps was still bred in upper Sind (vide p. 236 of *Early History of India* by Vincent Smith, Oxford, 1914 – *J. A. S. B.* 1892, p. 224 of Vol. IXI, Part I). Ibid p. 134 footnote 2 – *Mahabharata* mentions asses, *Camels* and mules in association. Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* mentions diet for mules, asses, cows, buffaloes, and *Camels* (vide p. 145 of Sham Sastry's Trans. 1929).

The clay prison of Esarhaddon dated *673—2 B. C.* found at Nineveh in 1929 refers to Bactrian Camels in the following line :—

"Their riding horses. cattle, flocks (and) *Bactrian Camels*" (vide p. 21, line 51 of the *Prisons of Esarhaddon* etc , London. 1931.

3. What is the Persian equivalent of "*Seeah-googh*"? The Hindustanee name of lynx (from the Persian) is *Sihagosh* or "black ear". It was employed in chase by Akbar (*Ain*, p. 290) vide pp. 375–376, of Bernier's *Travels* (Constable, 1891).

4. British Resident at the Poona Court.

5. This Brahmin artist needs to be identified.

6. I wonder if these modellings have been preserved. Moor (pp 363–364 of *Narrative*) describes the residence of Malet at Sangam in Poona together with its garden containing a vine-yard, apple and peach-trees, cypress etc. as also his collection of horses from Arabia and Persia, not to say several elephants used for state visits. He also refers to the extensive markets of Poona and a "long street in which are displayed a great variety of *English finery* such as looking-glasses, globe-lamps etc. The police of Poona were uncommonly well regulated".

the placid serenity of the *camel*, and the ferocious confidence of the *tiger* he is happy in hitting."[1]

In connection with the foregoing description of Peshwa's menagerie of C. A.D. 1790 I may note here the interest of Raja Shahu of Satara (A.D. 1682–1749) in curious animals from the Himalayas. In a letter[2] addressed by him to the Peshwa he had ordered the following animals for his menagerie :—

(1) Iraqui horse from Lahore, (2) *Vanagai* and (3) *Kasturi Mrga* from Shrinagar and (4) *Hum paksi.*

There are other letters[3] in this Peshwa Daftar selection referring to Shahu's interest in several animals and the efforts made by

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1. In a Marathi work called *Mestaka Pustaka* composed between A.D. 1690 and 1700 the *Sikarkhana* is described as follows :—

" सिकारखाना चित्ते । वाग रिसें वानरे कुत्ते । हरिण
सांबरें चील निरुते । घोरपडा आणि जवादो ॥ ६८ ॥ राही
खबुतरें खुरगे रावे सारिका बदके गव्हे । दुराज तितर
निकर लांव्हे मैना ससाणे ॥ ६९ ॥ लगडकुहिका काक कव्हे ।
कोले वाउल सुरंग गवे । बेडके मयुर पारवे । मुंगस चुवे वनगायी ॥ ७० ॥
भोगराज शाहामृग मनोहर । सारस गेंडे माहाथोर । ऐसे नाना जिनसी अपार ।
दृढदेहीं ॥ ७१ ॥। मृग नाना जातिचे । पक्षी हि तैसेच
पर्वतिचे । ते आवघे शिकारखानिचे । नेमें जाणा

(Vide p. 49 of भा. इ. सं. मंडळ, इतिवृत्त)

When was the " शाहामृग " or Ostrich first introduced into Indian menageries? According to Molesworth the word " शाहामृग " is of Persian origin.

2. Letter No. 22 of *Peshwa Daftar Selection* No. 7 (A.D. 1707–1720).

3. *P. D. No.* 7 contains the following letters regarding Shahu's interest in animals :—

Letter No. 25 (*1710* ?)—Amarsing Bundele sent to Shahu *Baja*, *Jure* and a pair of *dogs.*

Letter No. 27—Nilo Ballal Chitnis sends लावबाज (expert in training लाव birds or quails) together with some quail birds for Shahu.

Letter No. 28—Reference to the purchase of two *hawks* (बाजजुरे) for Rs. 5000 for king Shahu.

Letter No. 15—Order to procure good *pups* and *dogs* for Shahu.

Letter No. 6—Order to purchase *Camels* and *horses* for Shahu.

The '*Hum Paksi*' ordered by Shahu in *letter No 22* is identical with the bird '*Humma*' celebrated in Iran. There is a belief among the Persians that a person who is touched by the shadow of this bird becomes a king. A model of this bird in gold and jewellery formed part of Tipu Sultan's throne In *A.D. 1799*, Marquise of Wellesley sent this model to the Directors of the East India Company in London for being presented to His Majesty King George III. Since this time it is in the Royal Museum.

It is reported that this bird was presented to Lord Wellesley in *A.D 1810* in honour of all his services to Govt. Friends of Wellesley gave currency to a story that there was a nest of a *Humma* bird in a baniyan tree under which Wellesley used to sit during summer prior to his expedition against Mysore. The shadow of this bird must have touched Wellesley at this time and as a result of this touch he became successful in his Mysore expedition.

For more particulars about this Humma bird vide *Itihas Sangraha.* Ed. by Parasnis :—"*Note on Tipu's Throne and other royal emblems*," Vol. III. Nov. 1910, pp. 10-11. My attention was drawn to this note by Mr. S N. Sanadi, B.A. (Hons.) of the B.O.R. Institute, poona.

him to procure them from Northern India and elsewhere. Shahu was a keen *shikari* and devoted to all kinds of sports. He tried to get for his menagerie *dogs, horses,* rare *birds, yaks, leopards, musk deer* and other rare animals. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai referring to these letters aptly observes:—

> "A Maratha to the core, the idle years spent in the Mogul Zenana failed to impair his love of an open-air-life. Through all these letters breathes an air of simplicity, which he inherited from his illustrious grand-father (Shivaji) and which is a national trait of the Marathas."

I am inclined to believe that the menagerie of the last Peshwa described by Capt. Edward Moor C. A.D. 1790 owes its inspiration to the Maratha rulers like Shahu and Shivaji though the Peshwas as successors of these early Maratha rulers might have maintained their menagerie perhaps as an ornamental feature of their pomp and glory rather than from a genuine love of animals, so characteristic of king Shahu as we have seen above.

About the lynx (or *seeha goosh*) noticed by Capt. Edward Moor in the Peshwa's menagerie C. A D. 1790 at Poona we may record here that Abul Fazl (*C. 1590 A.D.*) refers to it in his *Ain-i-Akbari* as follows:—

> "His Majesty (Akbar) is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes. In former time it would attack a hare or fox; but now it kills black buck" (*Ain* p. 290).

This mode of hunting has been graphically described by Capt. Alexander Hamilton in his *New Account of the East Indies* (2 Vols.—Edinburgh, *1727*) Vol. I, p. 124 as follows:—

> "Deer, Antelopes, Hares and Foxes are their wild game, which they hunt with Dogs. Leopards, and a small fierce creature, called by them *Shoe goose.* It is about the size of Fox, with long prickt Ears like an Hare, and a face like a cat, a grey back and sides, and Belly and Breast white. I believe they are rare for I never saw more than one. When they are taken out to hunt an Horseman carries it behind him hood-winkt, and their Deer and Antelopes, being pretty familiar, will not start before horses come very near. He who carries *Shoe goose* takes off the hood and shows it the game, which with large swift springs, it soon overtakes, and leaping on their Backs, and getting forward to the shoulders, scratches their eyes out and gives the hunters an easy prey".(1)

1. Vide footnote on p. 376 of Bernier's *Travels* (London, 1891) where the Editor quotes *Ain* and Alexander Hamilton.

I shall now close this short paper on the *Shikar-khana* of the Peshwa by inviting the attention of the readers to the interesting description of the "field sports of Aurangzeb" recorded by Bernier in his letter dated *14ht December 1664* from Delhi to Monsieur de Merveilles. In this letter Bernier records the following points about sports:—

(1) Hunting carried on by Auragzeb with one *lac* of his troops in Kashmir.

(2) Uncultivated land reserved as game forest near Agra and Delhi and along both sides of the road leading to Lahore.

(3) Field sports carried on under the supervision of the Grand Master of the Hunt.

(4) Description of the manner inwhich antelopes are chased with tame leopards.

(5) Mode of hunting the *nil-ghaux* or grey oxon, which are a species of elk.

(6) Use of Hawks for catching Cranes.

(7) Hunting the lion with a *musketoon*—Killing a lion considered as a favourable omen—Escape of a lion considered as an evil omen.—Record of the lion's size etc. in the royal arches.—(Compare *game-book* of Akbar in which a complete account of game killed was recorded.—Jehangir in his *Memoires* gives details of his hunting exploits between the age of *12 to 50* He shot 17,167 head of all kinds, including 86 tigers, 41 sparrows, 3276 crows (!) and alligators).

(8) Opium given to the ass which is kept as a prey to attract the lion to be shot.

It would be worthwhile reconstructing the *history of Indin field sport* from the most ancient times to the present day. For this purpose several monographs would be necessary with a view to recording the available data on the subject in detail. In studying this subject we shall have to observe closely what Indian sport owes to foreign contacts from Greece, Rome, Persia, etc. in ancient times and from the Muhammedans and Europeans in medieval and modern times. I would like to know from our Muslim friends what special treatises on hunting are available in Persian or Arabic There is much scattered material on *mrgrya* or Hunting in Sanskrit sources but it needs to be exploited by lovers of the history of Indian sport.

Movements of Nizam Ali and the Marathas

(November, 1773—June, 1774)

BY

KHAN SAHIB PROF. S. H. ASKARI, M.A., B.L. (PATNA COLLEGE).

THERE is no dearth of materials about the career of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah Sani and his relations with the contemporary powers of India, and yet, no one has attempted to write a monograph which one of the greatest and the longest-lived rulers of Haiderabad deserves. From the books written in English, based largely on Maratha and English records, one is apt to form a very unfavourable impression about him, and accept the opinion of those who regard the 'survival of the Nizam as the survival of the weakest'. As regards the relation of Nizam Ali with Raghunath Rao, the historians of the Marathas have painted the former as thoroughly unscrupulous, 'faithless and turbulent',[1] and the latter as 'brave and powerful' but so generous hearted as to allow himself to be completely deceived by 'the feigned pretences' of his enemy, so as to be robbed more than once of his decisive victories. One is likely to become an advocate rather than a judge if one is to rely on any particular version, however accurate and reliable one finds it to be. The present writer feels that sufficient attention has not been paid to the Persian sources and unless what has been written so far, mainly from Maratha point of view, is checked by all other materials, particularly those available in Persian, a full, fair and comprehensive picture cannot be presented. One need not summarily reject the evidence of even the Court historians and apparently apologistic writers for, after due allowance has been made to their partisan spirit, one can get out of them many facts and details which may not be available elsewhere. Haiderabad has got many rich collections of Persian Mss. and the State archives may yield much valuable information to those interested in the subject. There are at least three Persian Mss.[2] in O. P. L., Patna, relating to the 18th century history of the Nizams. An attempt has been made, in the following lines, to place before the readers the relevant contents,[3] specially of the smallest among them,

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1. Kincaid and Prasnis, History of the Marathas 354, 367.
A. C Banerjee, Peshwa Madhav Rao, 32; Sardesai, S. P. B.

2. (a) Wiqai Iqbal. (b) A. N. or Asaf Nama by Tajalli Ali
(c) Wiqai-Dakkan by Md. Faizullah Munshi down to 1817.

3. The relevant points in the other 2 Mss have also been referred to in the footnotes.

entitled Waka-i-Iqbal, written by an eye-witness Qazi Faizul Haque, of Parganah Pipari in Aurangabad, at the instance of Samsamu-mulk, a minister of Nizam Ali, about the military transactions and movements of the latter, and his relations with Raghunath Rao and the League of the Barbhais, during the short period of about 7 or 8 months from 22nd Shaaban 1188 or November 1773 to Rabi II 1189 or June 1774.

Raghunath Rao, while a prisoner of his nephew, Narayan Rao, intrigued[1] with the 'power-seeking' people and having secured the murder of the Peshwa took the reins of authority in his own hands. He was unwise and shortsighted enough to become hostile to the Nizam, and having marched at the head of an immense horde from Poona, he reached the borders of the Nizam's territory and began to create trouble. The Nizam had to leave Haiderabad, on the 22nd of Shaban and encamp, on the 24th, at Mukha,[2] 14 kos from the city. Here he was joined by Ruknud-dowla[3] who had hastened back from his Berar expedition.[4] The Nizam's army, 25000 strong, was arranged in the following order:—

Centre—Nizam; Vanguard–Sabit Jung; Rear–Hashmat Jung; Right—Sharafud-dowla; Left—Ruknud-dowla and Shujaatud-dowla[5]; Front—Samsamulmulk, Khan Khana Fakhrulmulk Buxi, and Ahsanad-dowla; Vanguard auxiliary to the right—Maharao Rao Rambha Nimbalkar; to the left—Gopal Singh; auxiliary to the right of the rear—Maharaja Narpat Singh; to the left—Balaji Keshav. The Nizam's army moved on the 3rd Ramzan, to the vicinity of Bedar and the Begams and excess baggage were sent into the fort. The author of W. I. was put in charge of the Diwani papers and other documents.

Raghunath Rao, having marched through the village of Khanapur[6] and ravaged the territories on the way, arrived and encamped, 3 kos to the east of the Bedar fort. Here artillery duel occured on the 4th and 5th Ramzan[7] and some of the enemies and three or four men of the Nizam were killed. Raja Bir Bahadur Akkaji Serker arrived at this time and was favoured by the Nizam. Raghunath Rao at first sent a message which was coldly received. Though negotiations continued for about twenty days yet the

1. Anandi Bai, the wife of R. Rao was at the bottom of the mischief (K and P 365, G. Duff). Holkar and Sindhia have also been mentioned by the author of A. N. who also refers to the visit of "Firroz Juug".

2. A N. Mukha; W. D. Writes Mukla. It is Mogha about 80 miles to the east of Hyderabad on the survey map.

3. N. A had recalled Mir Musa entitled R. D. from Berar after the murder of Narayan Rao.

4. Bahadur Dil Khan, SD, Naib Nazim of Hyderabad W. D.

5. A. N; W. D.

6. No mention of this in other Mss.

7. The battle w'th canon and swivel guns lasted about a month (A. N. W. D.; N. U. 111)

enemies were all the time engaged in devastating and burning villages and towns and laying violent hands on crowds of people and cattle thronging for protection near the fort. Yamin-ud-dowla, the keeper of the fort, was busy, night and day, in guarding it and throwing shots on the enemies. On the 9th[1] of the same month R. Rao moved away from the eastern side of the fort and fell back on Khanapur. His repeated attacks on the Nizam's vanguard, which was led by Sabit Jung, were invariably repelled by the swivel gunners and archers of the latter. At last the overtures[2] for peace were accepted by the Nizam who sent R. Dowla, on the 23rd, for the settlement of terms. The minister was well received[3] and given an elephant, a horse and a robe, and an interview between the Nizam and R. Rao was arranged, on the following day, at a place midway[4] between the two camps. The Nizam was taken by Raghunath Rao to his own tent and was requested to take his meal[5] there. Having accepted the offer of a rich robe, two elephants, and two horses, the Nizam returned to his camp. He then sent for the Begams and the baggage from within the fort and sent robes of honour for Raghunath Rao.

Two days after this he proceeded toward Gulbarga where he arrived on the 26th of the following month. On his way thither he halted at Homnabad,[6] on the 6th of Shawwal, and on the 15th, he graced the house of Rao Rambha with a visit. On the 17th he reverently received the royal robe, sent for him by Shah Alam. While at Homnabad he conferred the Mahal of Akeli as a Tuyul on Rustam Rao Pandhriya, and sent Sidi Amber and Sabit Jung to compel his defiant brother, Yeshwant Rao, to deliver its possession. He paid a visit to the mausoleum of the saint of Gulbarga on the 27th, and the 1st of Ziqad, he sent Khan Jahan, son of Khan Khanan to bring Dalpat Rai, son of Dhar Rai Maharao, his uncle, who came and was favoured.

While the Nizam was enjoying the sights of Gulbarga news arrived that Raghunath who was "inherently perfidious and treacherous, wicked and mischevious" had, on his return from

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1. A severe engagement appears to have taken place on this date. When N. A. learnt that his vanguard had been attacked by R. Rao, he rode out on an elephant and sent Amir Beg and Fatah Khan to reinforce Sabit Jung.

2. When R. Rao failed against the men of N. A. he ordered his people to ravage the nighbourhood of the city (H) A large number of people fled into hills and deserts for refuge. There was a great panic. The author of A. N while praying for victory had a vision which foretold ultimate triumph. When R. R. failed to get an upper hand he opened negotiations for peace through Dhonda Ram and expressed a desire to see R. D. to settle terms of peace with him. A critical study of the position of A. N. leads one to think that the Nizam was at a disadvantage and he was fortunate that his enemy being probably pressed by some more urgent affairs moved away after coming to accommodation with him.

3. R. Rao sent his adopted son a Amrat Rao to welcome R. D.

4. A. N; W. D. M. N.

5. Brahmanical feast A. N.

6. W. D. south east of Gulbarga.

Bedar, broken his pledges, and after raising commotion in the territory of Wal -tabar[1] was moving towards Balhari.[2] On the 17th of Ziqad the Nizam set out towards Kalachabutra, reached Bhakalwari, on the bank of Kakna, and halted at Malkher on the 1st of Mohurram. It was at about this time that a force of Mudhoji Bhonsle suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of Nizam's men. Mudhoji and Sabaji, the sons of Raghoji, had been quarrelling[3] with each other, and R Dowla had supp rted the claims of Sabaji. Mudhoji and Darya Bai, the widowed wife of Janoji, had joined Raghunath Rao, but when the latter was returning from Bedar, Mudhoji had chosen to separate himself and return to his own country. He had commissioned his agent, Mahipat Rao[4] to collect money from the Mahals, on his way to his own Taluka. Mahipat, having marched a distance of ten kos waited, on the 19th, for an opportunity to attack the Nizam's (rear) thinking that the Mughals might not make a move on the day and could be taken unawares. But the Nizam moved on and his vanguard, led by Sabit Jung, Raja Gopal Singh, Padam Singh etc fell upon him so suddenly as to drive him headlong into flight, leaving many dead behind and a large[5] booty to the victors. After punishing severely all those who had done any damage to the agricultural fields the Nizam marched forward and arrived on the bank of Bhima, near the fort of Inkerpur, on the 16th. Here he was met by the agent of many local zamindars and also those from the other side of the Krishna, from Sholapur and Karkara, who offered their peshkush. Those who had been led away by the enemy came forward to offer their allegiance again.

When the Nizam had reached a place opposite Nangaon, 8 miles from Kalachabutra, he learnt that Walatabar was on his way from Raichur[6] to see him. He sent R. Dowla to receive him and himself advanced and brought his brother on the bank of the same elephant. On the 22nd feasts and festivities were organised in honour of the guest and the latter, after being loaded

1. Basalat Jung, the 5th son of N. M. I. He had been a rival of N. A. who compelled him to leave the capital (H) and assumed the Subadri of Bijapur, given to him by S. J. But the Marathas, and Haider Ali had taken possession of much of his territory and had to remain content with Raichur and Adoni (about 30 miles south of Raichur). He pleased N. A. however by keeping their youngest refractory brother, Mughal Ali Khan interned at Adoni. (A. N.)

2. W I. is rich in Topographical details and gives a more through account of the intenerary of N. A. and R. R. than the other two Mss.

3. See G. D. and K and P. According to K and P, the Kayastha Prabhus the Agents of Mudho Bhonsla who was favoured by Raghunatha Rao helped Anandi Brai in contriving the release of her husband and the murder of the Peshwa N. Rao

4. A. N. gives a different and most probably a wrong name "Snankraji Ghorpede, the Madar-i-kar of Mudhoji Bhonsle".

5. A. N camels, horses and bullocks laden with grains and bronze and copper utensils, cloths and other goods were obtained among the spoils of victory (A. N. and S. N.) We are also told that the Nizam's general at first sent word to the Bhonsle's offer not to harass the people and leave the place but being proud of his force he paid no heed and was surprized and put to flight A. N.

6. The fort of Tankir? W. D.

with favours, was permitted to return to Imtiyazgarh, alias Adoni,[1] on the 6th of the next month. Qiyamud-dowla, the custodian of the fort of Mudgal, his sons, Imteyazud-dowla and Zeyad ud-dowla, the keeper of the fort of Golconda, and Quilich Naik, the Zamindar of Deodurg,[2] came from their respective jurisdictions and met the Nizam.

The ill-fated and mischievous Raghunath Rao, on his return from Bedar, had been very busy not only with creating disturbances and levying contribution from the Mahals of the Nizam but also keeping himself vigilant against his other enemies. He had sent Trimbak Rao[3] on an expedition against Sabaji Bhonsle. But Trimbak Rao had secretly[4] espoused the cause of Gopika Bai, the mother of the murdered Narayan Rao, and he also won over Sabaji to his side. The confederates appealed to the Nizam for support. An agent of Raghunath Rao also came to the Nizam who at first felt inclined, in the interest of peace in the country and security to the people, to effect conciliation between the parties through his own mediation. He proceeded, on the 7th Zihijja, towards the fort of Kalyan, and after performing the Id Azha festival at Kolur, he marched to the bank of Kakna, on the 11th. Two days after, he sent Maqbul Ali Khan to bring Raja Ram, the agent of Raghunath Rao, before his presence. Trimbak Rao and friends (including Sabaji) also came to Hiragaon, on the 17th, and halted at a distance of 5 kos from the Nizam's camp. They sent their agent to the Nizam requesting him to support them in destroying the power of Raghunath Rao. As the latter by his faithless action had forfeited all claims for favour, while Trimbak Rao and his colleagues were found to be very earnest, determined, and solicitious, the Nizam had to change his mind and he decided to support the cause of the leaguers. He permitted his Diwan, R. Dowla, and and another minister, Wiqur-ud-dowla to go and have a talk with Trimbak Rao. They were received midway between the two camps. Seeing all this Raja Ram returned to report the matter to Raghunath Rao. The minister R. Dowla was ordered, on the 21st to present Trimbak Rao and others and they were allowed to pay another visit to the Nizam on the 23rd, and offer their presents to him. It was at this time that Zafarud-dowla and Zabit Jung arrived and joined the Nizam.

Hearing that Raghunath Rao was moving about Satara, the Nizam marched towards that side and he halted at Ulund (Aland)

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1. On the 17th the Nizam's camp was pitched near Raichur 'on this side of the river' W. R.

2. South of Krishna river and N. W. of Raichur.

3. Sardesai says that Trimbak Rao and Raghunath Rao had on December, 1773 started from Poona on an expedition into Carnatic and he also refers to T. Rao enlisting the sympathy and the services of the Bhonsle and the Nizam.

4. See the interesting letters to Trimbak Rao in S. P. D. vol. 5.

on the 24th of Zihijja. Haripant Phurkia who had arrived with money, sent by Sakha Ram Pant, from Purandhar, joined Trimbak Rao. The Nizam crossed the Bhima on the 29th and his presence in the neighbourhood so terrified the usurpers of the jagir of Rao Rambha that they could not but evacuate it and offer their allegiance again. On the 22nd of Moharram, 1188, the Nizam arrived at Barampuri and moved, on the following day, to a place 4 kos from Pandharpur. On the 9th he reached Mani,(1) within the jurisdiction of Bhawani Rao Pratinidhi, and he halted at Shamgarh, 4 kos from the bank of the Krishna. Raghunath had been encamped at a distance of 4 kos from the bank of the river, within the territory of Miraj, which he precipitately left, being hotly pursued by Trimbak Rao. The Nizam arrived at Mraj on, the 10th of Moharram and moved further on the followinig day preceded, at some distance, by Sabaji Bhonsle, who had already been left behind by Trimbak Rao, in his chase of Raghunath Rao. Thus the three forces were marching at some distance from one another on the 12th. In the meanwhile Waman Rao, the Talukdar of Miraj, had cut himself away from Raghunath and joined Trimbak Rao with 3 or 4000 of his men. Hearing that Raghunath was halting at Pandharpur, Trimbak Rao was unwise and reckless(2) enough to disregard the advise of his friends, ignore the fact that distance between the three armies left little chance for quick reinforcement, and count unduly on the opportune desertion of many of the wavering adherents of the enemy and he dashed over a distance of 12 kos and faced Raghunath Rao. The latter was clever enough to leave behind those whom he suspected to be lukewarn or disloyal and with his chosen and reliable followers he encountered Trimbak Rao, overwhelmed and captured him. Trimbak's men had become exhausted by the rapidity of the march, in hot summer, over a waterless region. The remnants of his vanquished force elected Haripant Phurkia(3) as their leader. It was on the night of the 14th that the Nizam learnt of catastrophe and quickly covering a distance of 12 kos he joined the disspirited soldiery of Trimbak Rao. Raghunath Rao was at a distance of 3 kos. The Nizam found, on his way, at Sangoia, on the 15th, three pieces of the cannon of the enemy, the heaviest of which he ordered to be damaged, while the other two were appropriated to his use.

It was at about this time, when Mahabat Jung, son of Walatabar, was coming to his uncle,(4) that the Nizam was overtaken,

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1. It is Manvi about 25 miles S. W. of Raichur on the Survey map

2. He was reckless enough to rush forward without waiting for the Nizam to join him A. N. The two letters numbered 43 dated 23 Moharram (3-4-1744.) Hari Ballal Phadke describes the fight betweet R. R. and T R. M.

3. He is Hari Ballal Phadke, one of the chief confidants of the murdered Narayan Rao and a prominent member of the league of the Farbhais see KandP, GD and SP.D.

4. R. R. hearing that M. J. was coming from Adoni rushed to Ghadi which he blocked. M. J. surrendered after some resistance (A. N. 147).

at Mahuli, within the jagir of Rao Rambhah and compelled to accompany him in his wanderings. Hearing this the Nizam consulted his men and became more determined than ever to push his pursuit of the enemy. He crossed the Bhima on the 17th of Muharram while Raghunath Rao marched from Mahuli towards Ahmednagar. On the 21st, the Nizam halted near the fort of Parenda and leaving his heavier baggage in the fort he moved on, by way of Karmala, on the 28th, towards Ahemadnagar. He learnt on the way that Trimbak Rao had succumeed to his wounds. Bhawani Ram Pratinidhi and many other men at this time left Raghunath Rao and they joined Haripant Phurkia. Very soon the Nizam learnt that Raghunath Rao had turned towards Aurangabad(1) and, therefore, he marched quickly to Nibandhan Ghat, on the 29th, and after halt, on the 1st of Safer, on the bank of river Godawari, near Toka, he moved on and arrived, on the 3rd, in the vicinity of Aurangabad, and pitched his camp at Kalachabutra. Three days before this Raghunath had arrived at village Daboch and pressed the citizens of Aurangabad to pay him large amounts of money. Munirud-dowla, who was in charge of the city, having strengthened his defences stood ready for battle when the approach of the Nizam compelled Raghunath Rao to move away towards Chakalthana and to dismiss the dependents of Mahabat Jung. The enemy passed through Pipari, the village home of the author of W. I., and moved on towards Burhanpur. The Nizam encamped at Mohammadibagh and on the 6th of Safar entered the city through its Delhi-Gate.

Soon, however, he had to leave Burhanpur and moving through the town of Pulmesi, on the 9th, he passed on to Chukabala. Here he learnt of the birth of a son to the murdered Peshwa, N. Rao, who was named Sawai Madho Narain. Passing through Silverkama, the Nizam reached the bank of Kelna, on the 13th, and crossed it at Nazarghat. From here he directed Zafarud-dowla and Sabaji B. to advance ahead of him. It was at this time that Kishan Rao Ballal, the agent of the partizans of Madho Narain, came from Poona and joined the Nizam. He moved further, on the 30th, to Fardapur. Raghunath Rao was still reported to have 25000 under him but his men were tired of incessant marching and many having deserted him came to seek the forgiveness of the Nizam on the 19th at village Changdevi, 14 kos from Burhanpur, But Md. Yusuf and Sumer Singh Hazari, the latter having one thousand horse besides foot soldier under him, still remained attached to Raghunath Rao and accompanied him in his wanderings on the other side of the Narbada. Raghunath Rao was, however, deserted by Madhoji

1. At his alarming news which might be productive of other mischiefs N. A. decided to give no quarters or leisure to R. Rao and all agreed upon the destruction of the force. Z. D. was made to lead the vanguard while the rear was composed of men led by Dawar Jung, Balaji Kesho, Raja Nirpa Singh, and Rao Rustam Pandhris (A. N. 147).

Bhosale. The Nizam's camp was pitched on, Wednesday, the 22nd Safer at Ahubagh, on this side of river Tapti. A council was held here and it was decided that the forces of Haripant Phurkiah should advance further under the leadership of Balwant Rao in pursuit of Raghunath Rao while Sabaji B. was to send his Dewan, Bhawani Rao Kalia, after Madhuji B. and the Nizam was to stop his further progress for the time being.

One reason of this was the news that Raghunath Rao had succeeded in enlisting the support of Ahalya Bai, the wife of Holkar, and the Sindhia and he had taken refuge at Indore. On the 9th of Rabi I the Nizam learnt that Bhawani Rao was very near Madhoji Bhonsle. Soon the Bhonsle affairs took a new turn. At the time Trimbak Rao had been joined by Sabaji B., Daria Bai, had also separated herself from Madhoji and Trimbak Rao, having brought about an accommodation between her and Sabaji, had taken her under his protection. Being pressed by her mutinous followers who demanded their arrear pay, she decided to return to her home but Sabaji Bhonsle apprehending that she might join Madhoji again tried his best to dissuade her from proceeding there. She was however adamant and the quarrel ultimately developed into an attack by the Sabaji on her, on Thursday, 21st Rabi I. Many of her men were killed and undergoing many hardships came with a few of her men to Haripant who befriended her and effected a reconciliation between her and Sabaji Bhonsle.

As the rains had come, the Nizam decided to stay at Aurangabad. He moved on the 24th and arrived at Antribauli while Hari Pandit and Sabaji stayed on at Burhanpur. At the time of his departure the Nizam honoured each of these two chiefs with a visit to their respective camps, and accepted their Peshkash of robes, jewels, horses and elephants. He proceeded further amidst heavy downpour of rains and on the 6th Rabi II he passed through SurabalaGhat and encamped at Anbarapur. Kishan Rao Ballal was directed to proceed from this place towards Poona to settle certain transactions with the officials of the infant Peshwa. Maqbul Ali Khan and Sidi Farhad returned after ravaging it and joined the Nizam. Sharfud-dowla and Dawar Jung were ordered to return to their respective jurisdictions When the camp was pitched on the bank of a Nala at a distance of 14½ kos there was such a heavy downpour and so sudden a flood came that many of the men and cattle of the Nizam were carried off by the water. While the Nizam hastily moved on to the other side of the Nala his omrāh had to leave their tents behind and to pass a sleepless night without food. Next morning the flood subsided.

In the meantime Hari Pandit and Sabaji had decided to return to their headquarters. The Nizam lso got the cheering news that

Raghunath Rao, having repented of his bad deeds had liberated Mahabat Jung and allowed him to proceed towards his uncle. The Nizam passed through Balhari and Ladsangoi and arrived, on the 19th of Rabi II, near Aurangabad and pitched his camp at the tank of M Jaswant Singh of Aurangzeb's days. He finally entered the city in the morning of Thursday, the 20th of Rabi II, 1188 or 30th June 1774. On the 26th Mahabat Jung arrived and met the Nizam. There was a shortage of food-grain in the city but the Nizam ordered the grain-sellers to charge only moderate prices for their goods.

It was not till the end of Shawwal that the Nizam again set out for punishing Raghunath Rao who had crossed the Narbada and the Tapti and was creating disturbances in Khandesh. After chastising him the Nizam left Zabit Jung to pursue the enemy further and himself returned to Burhanpur aft r passing through Sultanpur, Nazarbagh and Thalner. Zabit Jung returned after sometime The Nizam had to leave for Nagpur in order to settle certain transactions arising from the quarrels of Sabaji and Madhoji (Muharram 1189).

حدیقۃ العالم اور اُس کا مصنف

از
سید مبارز الدین رفعت - حیدر آباد (دکن)

سلاطین قطب شاہیہ اور سلاطین آصفیہ کی تاریخ پر فارسی میں جو کتابیں لکھی گئی ہیں، ان میں سے ایک اہم کتاب حدیقۃ العالم بھی ہے۔ کتاب دو مقالوں پر منقسم ہے۔ پہلا مقالہ سلاطین قطب شاہیہ پر ہے اور دوسرا سلاطین آصفیہ پر۔ یہ کتاب ۱۳۰۹ھ میں مطبع سیدی حیدر آباد دکن سے شایع ہو چکی ہے اور اس کے متعدد مخطوطے مختلف کتب خانوں میں محفوظ ہیں۔ لیکن عجیب اتفاق ہے کہ مصنف کے بارے میں مطبوعہ نسخہ اور مخطوطات کے بیانات مختلف ہیں۔ مطبع سیدی کے چھپے ہوئے نسخے میں لکھا ہے:-

"..... در مرآت خاطر فاطر اضعف عباد اللہ القوی ابو القاسم بن رضی الدین الموسوی الملقب بہ میر عالم کہ از مختصان دولت آصفی و منتسبان ایں ریاست فیروزی بنیاد است" (حدیقۃ العالم حصہ اول ص۲)

برٹش میوزیم میں اس کا جو مخطوطہ Add. 26, 258 میں محفوظ ہے اس کے پہلے مقالہ میں بھی میر عالم کا نام مصنف کی حیثیت سے آتا ہے لیکن دوسرے مقالہ (مخطوطہ نمبری Add. 26, 259 (کی ابتداء میں ایک عبارت درج ہے جو مطبوعہ نسخہ میں نہیں۔ اس عبارت میں محمد ابو تراب بن سید احمد الرضوی اپنے آپ کو کتاب کا اصلی مصنف ظاہر کرتا ہے اور لکھتا ہے:۔

"پہلے مقالہ کی تکمیل کے بعد جس کے مقدمہ کو میر عالم کے نام سے زینت دی گئی ہے، اب دوسرا مقالہ شروع کیا جاتا ہے[1]"

مطبوعہ حدیقۃ العالم کی جلد دوم کے صفحات ۳۸۹ - ۳۹۰ میں جہاں میر عالم کا ذکر حاضر متکلم "این خیر خواہ دولت" کی حیثیت سے ہوا ہے، اور اس کے مخطوطے کے اوراق ۳۲۴ - ۳۲۵ پر ان کے لیے ضمائر واحد غائب استعمال کیے گئے ہیں۔

حدیقۃ العالم کا یہی مخطوطہ "اے ہسٹری آف دی مرہٹاز" کے مصنف گرانڈ ڈف کے ماخذوں میں رہا ہے، چنانچہ وہ لکھتے ہیں۔

"حدیقۃ العالم: یہ فارسی مخطوطہ جس کا ذکر میں یہاں پہلی بار کر رہا ہوں نظام الملک اور ان کے جانشینوں کی ایک ضخیم تاریخ ہے۔ یہ ایک حالیہ قابل اعتماد تصنیف ہے۔ یہ محمد ابو تراب کی تصنیف ہے اور نظام علی خاں کے مشہور وزیر میر عالم کے نام معنون کی گئی ہے۔ اس کتاب کے میرے پاس دو نسخے تھے۔ جن میں سے ایک مسٹر ولیم ارسکن نے مجھے مستعار عنایت کیا تھا[2]"

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[1] Rien, The Cat of the Persian Mss. British Museum. Vol. 1. P. 324–25

[2] James Grant Duff: A History of the Mahrattas, Vol. 1. Calcutta, 1918 A food-note on P. 354.

یہاں اس کا تذکرہ دلچسپی سے خالی نہ ہوگا کہ اس مخطوطے کو حیدرآباد کے ریزیڈنٹ مسٹر ہنری رسل نے ۱۸۱۱ء میں ولیم ارسکن کو لکھ کر ہدیۃً دیا تھا[۱]۔

انڈیا آفس میں اس کا ایک اور نسخہ ہے (مخطوطہ نمبری 465)۔ اس کے پہلے مقالے کی ابتدا ہی میں ابوتراب بن سید احمد الرضوی نے اپنے آپ کو کتاب کا اصل مصنف بتایا ہے۔ فہرست نگار کا بیان ہے :۔

"میر ابوتراب بن سید احمد الرضوی لکھتا ہے کہ وہ میر اکبر علیخاں سکندرجاہ کے حکم پر سلاطین قطب شاہیہ (جنھوں نے اس ملک پر دو سو سال سے زیادہ فرماں روائی کی ہے) کی تاریخ لکھنے پر مامور ہوا۔ اس نے "تاریخ قطب شاہی" اور دوسری تاریخوں کی مدد سے ایک تصنیف کی جس کا نام "قطب نمائے عالم" رکھا۔ اس کا سنہ تصنیف ۱۲۲۱ھ (م ۱۸۰۶ء) ہے[۲]۔"

اس بیان کے متعلق میر عالم کے سوانح نگار لکھتے ہیں :۔

"ہر چند ہم نے تلاش کی لیکن ہم اس کا پتہ لگانے میں قاصر رہے کہ اس کتاب کو میر ابوتراب نے سکندرجاہ کے حکم پر لکھا اور "قطب نمائے عالم" نام رکھا[۳]۔"

حدیقۃ العالم کا ایک اور نسخہ نواب سالار جنگ بہادر کے کتب خانہ میں موجود ہے۔ برٹش میوزیم کے نسخے کی طرح اس نسخے کے

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۱ Rien, Vol. 1. P. 325

۲ E the, The Cat of the Persian Mss. India Office, Col· 180.

۳ میر عالم ص ۲۷۰، مصنفہ سراج الدین طالب، حیدرآباد دکن ۱۳۴۹ھ

دوسرے مقالے کی تمہید میں ابوتراب اپنے آپ کو مصنف ظاہر کرتا ہے۔ لکھا ہے:۔

"مخفی نماند کہ اضعف عباد اللہ القوی سید محمد مدعو بہ میر ابوتراب ابن سید احمد الرضوی عالمہا بلطفہ الخفی و اعلی حسب الحکم واجب الانقیاد عالیجناب سید مکرم معدن احسان و کرم وزیر اعظم حضرت خلیفہ دوران سکندر زمان دام ظل رحمتہ علی رؤس العالم میر ابوالقاسم المخاطب بنواب میر عالم اعلی اللہ مقامہ چوں کتاب حدیقۃ العالم متضمن دو مقالہ مقالۂ اولی در ذکر مآثر ملوک قطب شاہیہ نور اللہ مراقدہم و مقالۂ ثانیہ در بیان احوال خیر مآل سلسلہ عالیہ آصفیہ خلد اللہ دولتہم وغیرہ کہ در فہرس ایں مقالہ مرقوم تالیف نمودہ بنام نامی آں وزارت انتساب منسوب گردانیدہ بیضۂ مقالۂ اولی آں کہ متداولۂ بین الدہر والمشتہر بین الناس گردید بخلاف بیضۂ مقالہ دویمش کہ جز یک دو نبود و مشہور و مروج نگردید و اکثر اعزہ از اولی الابصار درخواست کنندہ و طلبگار بیضۂ ایں مقالہ بودند تا ایں کہ دریں زمان فیض قرآن سنہ یک ہزار و دو صد و بست و سوم از سنین ہجریہ و علی صاحبہا افضل الصلوٰۃ والتحیۃ بفحوائے آں کہ ظہور ہر شے منوط بوقت آنست چوں ہنگام شہرت و رواجش رسید خاطر فیض مآثر فیض رسان عالمیان دام ظل فیضہ بداں گرائید کہ بیضہ از مسودہ منتشر الاوراق کہ نزد مولف است منتظم سلک ترقیم گشتہ رواج چہرہ افروز گردد......"[1]

حدیقۃ العالم کے مصنف کے بارے میں ایک اور خیال

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[1] میر عالم، ص ص ۱۷۲ — ۱۷۳۔

بھی ظاہر کیا گیا ہے، نواب سالار جنگ اول کے سوانح نگار نواب عماد الملک سید حسین بلگرامی کا بیان ہے :۔

"اور ایک تاریخی کتاب مسمی حدیقۃ العالم ان (میر عالم) کے نام سے منسوب ہے، اور اسے مرزا عبد اللطیف شوستری نے تصنیف کیا ہے" اور "مرزا عبد اللطیف میر عالم کے گہرے دوست تھے[1]"۔

صاحب میر عالم نے اس بیان کی اس طرح تردید کی ہے کہ نواب صاحب کا بیان بے سند ہے۔ عبد اللطیف شوستری میر عالم کے دوست نہیں بلکہ چچازاد بھائی تھے انھوں نے "تحفۃ العالم" کے نام سے ایک سفر نامہ لکھا تھا۔ ممکن ہے کہ اسی کو حدیقۃ العالم سمجھ لیا گیا ہو" یا ممکن ہے کہ حدیقۃ العالم کو عبد اللطیف کی تصنیف باور کرنے میں اس وجہ سے غلطی ہوئی ہو کہ حدیقۃ العالم کا متداول نسخہ مطبع سیدی ہیں مالک مطبع سید عبد اللطیف کے اہتمام سے طبع و شایع ہوا جو شوستری نہیں بلکہ شیرازی ہیں۔ نواب صاحب مرحوم کا خیال ان ہی عبد اللطیف کی طرف مبادرت کر گیا ہو[2]"۔

حدیقۃ العالم کے میر عالم کی تصنیف نہ ہونے کی ایک اور داخلی شہادت یہ بھی ہے کہ اگر یہ میر عالم ہی کی تصنیف ہوتی تو ان تاریخی واقعات کی ان میں تفصیل ہوتی۔ جن کا میر عالم سے راست تعلق رہا ہے، لیکن ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ حدیقۃ العالم میں تزک آصفیہ سے

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[1] مرقعہ عبرت ص ص ۱۴۔۱۵۔ مصنفہ نواب عماد الملک سید حسین بلگرامی، مترجمہ سید مہدی حسن فتح نواز جنگ طبع حیدرآباد دکن
[2] میر عالم، ص ۱۷۲۔

جو اسی عہد میں تصنیف ہوئی ہے کچھ بھی زیادہ معلومات نہیں ہیں۔
پس بیانات بالا سے واضح ہے کہ حدیقۃ العالم میر عالم کی تصنیف نہیں بلکہ ان کے نام معنون کی گئی ہے اور اس کا اصل مصنف "سید محمد مدعو بہ ابو تراب ابن سید احمد الرضوی" ہے۔
افسوس ہے کہ سید محمد ابو تراب کے حالات پر کسی قسم کی روشنی نہ حدیقۃ العالم سے پڑتی ہے اور نہ ہم عصر بیانات سے۔
نواب ابو القاسم میر عالم جن کے نام یہ کتاب معنون کی گئی ہے عہد نظام علی خاں آصف جاہ ثانی کے مشہور مدبّر تھے۔ پہلے مملکت آصفیہ کی طرف سے کلکتہ میں سفیر مقرر ہوئے۔ اور پھر نواب نظام علی خاں اور ان کے بعد نواب سکندر جاہ بہادر کے عہد میں انگریزوں کے اثر سے عہدۂ مدار المہامی کے فرائض انجام دیتے رہے۔ تالاب میر عالم اور بارہ دری حیدر آباد میں ان کی مشہور تاریخی یادگاریں ہیں۔ شعر و سخن اور علم و ادب کا خاص ذوق رکھتے تھے۔ حدیقۃ العالم کے علاوہ ماہ لقا بائی چندا کا ایک فارسی سراپا اور ان کے منشآت ان ہی سے منسوب ہیں۔
میر عالم نے ۱۲۲۳ھ میں وفات پائی اور دایرۂ میر مومن میں دفن ہوئے۔
جیسا کہ ہم اوپر بیان کر آئے ہیں؛ حدیقۃ العالم سلاطین قطب شاہیہ اور سلاطین آصفیہ کی تاریخ ہے۔ اصل میں مصنف صرف سلاطین آصفیہ کی تاریخ لکھنا چاہتا تھا لیکن چونکہ سلاطین آصفیہ سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کے جانشین بنے اور وہ مسلمان بھی تھے اس لیے ابتداء میں ان کا حال لکھنا بھی ضروری سمجھا۔ چنانچہ کتاب کے دو مقالوں میں پہلا مقالہ قطب شاہی سلاطین کیلئے

مختص کر دیا ہے۔ مقدمہ میں لکھا ہے :۔

"وعلیٰ ہذا در مرات خاطر فاطر اضعف العباد .... جلوہ گر گردید کہ اگر از ہار اخبار رنگا رنگ چمن دولت سلسلہ علیہ عالیہ آصفیہ ادام اللہ ایام دولتہم را کہ در صحن بساتین کتب متفرقہ گل گل شگفتہ است برشتۂ تحریر گلدستہ بہ بندی ولآلی آبدار مکارم احوال ومعالی آثار ایں خاندان عالی شان شامخ الارکان را کہ در اصداف السنہ وافواہ منتشر افتادہ است در عقد انتساق وسمط انتظام بہ پندی از انجا کہ صورت گفتگو ہا کہ نقشی بر آب است از کلک تصویرت رنگ دوام می گیرد .... وچوں سخن آرزوی سخن می خیزد وبلدہ طیبہ حیدر آباد دار الامارہ دولت آصفی نژاد است مناسب نمود کہ اولاً احوال سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کہ بانی مبانی بلدہ مذکو بودہ ودر ممالک فسیح المسالک تلنگ مدتہای گوی نیک نامی بچوگان فرماں روائی ربودہ اند وابتدای دولت ایشاں مبدر ظہور رونق ملت اسلام وشرع شیوع انوار دیں مبین حضرت خیر الانام .... دریں سر زمین بہشت آئین بمناسبت سبق زمانی طراد اللباب بعبارت واضح خالی از خلال ایجاز واطناب رقم پذیر خامۂ بیان کرد[1]۔"

اس کے بعد مصنف نے کتاب کے مضامین کا خاکہ پیش کیا ہے :

"ایں تالیف مسرت توام کہ مسمی است بحدیقۃ العالم مشتمل است بر دو مقالہ ویک خاتمہ۔ مقالہ اول در بیان احوال ملوک

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[1] حدیقۃ العالم ص ص ۷ - ۸ -

قطب شاہیہ انار اللہ براہنہم و مقالہ دوم در ذکر احوال سلسلہ علیہ آصفیہ ادام اللہ ایام دولتہم و خاتمہ در بیان مجملے از احوال مؤلف[1]۔"

مطبوعہ نسخے میں جلد اول مقالہ اول پر جلد دوم مقالہ دوم پر مشتمل ہے۔ برٹش میوزیم، انڈیا آفس اور نواب سالار جنگ کے مخطوطوں کا بھی یہی حال ہے۔ خاتمہ جو مولف کے حالات پر لکھا جانے والا تھا دونوں میں موجود نہیں۔ نہ مطبوعہ نسخے میں نہ مخطوطوں میں۔

مقالۂ اول کی تفصیل یہ دی ہے :۔

"مقالۂ اول در بیان احوال عظمت اشتمال سلاطین قطب شاہیہ رضوان اللہ علیہم کہ قریب دو صد سال در مملکت تلنگ کوس سلطنت و فرماں روائی نواختہ و علم دین و داد دریں سرزمین مینو سواد افراختہ اند منتخب از تاریخ قطب شاہی و غیرہ تواریخ معتبرہ[2]۔"

"تاریخ قطب شاہی" سے تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی مراد ہے۔ جو سلطان محمد قطب شاہ کے حکم سے اس کے چھٹے سنہ جلوس میں لکھی گئی تھی۔ تواریخ معتبرہ سے گلشن ابراہیمی یعنی تاریخ فرشتہ، حدیقۃ السلاطین مصنفہ نظام الدین احمد شیرازی، منتخب اللباب خافی خان اور مآثر الامراء، اور وقائع نعمت خان عالی ہیں۔

تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی اگرچہ خود بھی کسی اور ضخیم قطب شاہی تاریخ کا خلاصہ ہے، جو اب ناپید ہے اور جس کے مصنف کا بھی کوئی پتہ نہیں۔ لیکن یہ اس خاندان کی موجود اولین تاریخ ہے۔ اسی کی ہم عصر اور دو تاریخیں بھی ہیں۔ ایک منظوم تاریخ قطب شاہیہ مصنفہ ہیرالال خوش دل

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[1] حدیقۃ العالم ص ۸ - [2] اصل میں فٹ نوٹ ندارد ۱۲

اور دوسرے آثر محمودی قطب شاہی تالیف عبداللہ نیشاپوری۔ علاوہ ازیں نظام الدین شیرازی نے حدیقۃ السلاطین قطب شاہی لکھ کر تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی کا تکملہ یا ذیل مہیا کیا ہے اور یہ سلطان عبداللہ قطب شاہ کے عہد کی تاریخ ہے۔ سلطان ابو الحسن قطب شاہ کے عہد پر بھی ایک تاریخ حدائق السلاطین کے نام سے علی بن طیفور نے لکھی تھی، اس کا صرف ایک ہی نسخہ نواب سالار جنگ بہادر کے کتب خانہ میں محفوظ ہے۔

سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کے ہم عصر ہندوستان کے اور مورخوں نے بھی مختلف شاہی خاندانوں کے تحت تاریخیں لکھی ہیں۔ ان میں ابو القاسم فرشتہ کی تاریخ "گلشن ابراہیمی" ابراہیم عادل شاہ دوم کے عہد میں اور علی بن عبد العزیز طبا طبا کی تاریخ "برہان مآثر" برہان نظام شاہ والی احمد نگر کے عہد میں لکھی گئی ہے۔ دکن کی سلطنتوں کے آپس کے تعلقات اور آپس کی لڑائیوں کی وجہ سے ان تاریخوں میں سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کا بھی تفصیلی حال موجود ہے۔ بعد کے عہد میں مغل تاریخوں میں لباب الالباب وغیرہ میں اس خاندان کے آخری دور کے تفصیلی واقعات موجود ہیں۔

حدیقۃ العالم کا مصنف ان تاریخوں میں سے صرف تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی، تاریخ فرشتہ اور حدیقۃ السلاطین سے واقف ہے۔ وہ کبھی ناموں کی تصریح کے ساتھ اور بعض وقت بغیر نام لیے ان کے مضامین درج کرتا ہے اور ان کے بیانات کو خلاصہ کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ سلطان ابو الحسن کے عہد کے واقعات حدائق السلاطین سے نہیں لیے گئے ہیں بلکہ تمام تر بغیر حوالہ دربار مغلیہ کے مورخوں سے نقل کر لیے گئے ہیں۔

جیسا کہ ہم بتا چکے ہیں تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کی تاریخ پر اولین کتاب ہے، اس لیئے حدیقۃ العالم کی تالیف میں اس سے استفادہ ناگزیر تھا۔ چنانچہ قطب شاہی عہد پر جتنی تاریخیں لکھی گئی ہیں ان میں سے بیشتر کا ماخذ یہی تاریخ رہی ہے۔ لیکن حدیقۃ العالم کے مصنف نے یہ تاریخ جزوی رد و بدل کے ساتھ تقریباً پوری کی پوری نقل کر لی ہے۔ بعض مقامات پر تاریخ فرشتہ سے بھی استفادہ کیا گیا ہے اور اختلافی بیانات نقل کر دیئے ہیں۔ لیکن تحقیق واقعہ کی نسبت کوئی بحث نہیں کی ہے۔

تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی اور حدیقۃ العالم کا تفصیلی اور تقابلی مطالعہ حسب ذیل ہے :۔

۱۔ تاریخ سلطان محمد قطب شاہی اور حدیقۃ العالم کے مضامین کی ترتیب بالکل ایک ہے۔ عنوانات بھی دونوں کے وہی ہیں۔ بعض جگہ عنوانات کی بھی تلخیص کی کوشش کی گئی ہے۔

۲۔ مضامین عام طور پر لفظی رد و بدل اور خلاصہ کی صورت میں نقل ہوئے ہیں۔ اور بعض جگہ لفظاً لفظاً۔

۳۔ تاریخ قطب شاہی کا ضخیم مقدمہ جس میں بانیٔ سلطنت کے آبا و اجداد کا حال ہے اور جس کا تعلق دکن کی تاریخ سے نہیں، حدیقۃ العالم میں شریک ہے۔

۴۔ صدر جہاں کی تصنیف مرغوب القلوب سے جو بیانات تاریخ قطب شاہی میں نقل ہوئے ہیں وہ حدیقۃ العالم میں حذف کر دیئے گئے ہیں۔

۵ - سلاطین قطب شاہیہ کا فارسی کلام اور میر مومن کے قصائد حدیقۃ العالم میں اتنے ہی ہیں جتنے کہ تاریخ قطب شاہی ہیں۔ دوسرے مقالے کے بارے میں صاحب میر عالم کی رائے ہے:-

حدیقۃ العالم کے "قلمی نسخے کو اگر مطبوعہ نسخے کے مقابل رکھ کر پڑھا جائے تو محض جزوی لفظی اختلافات سے قطع نظر یہ معلوم ہوگا کہ اکثر مستقل احوال و بیانات کا الحاق ہو گیا ہے۔ لیکن قطعی طور پر یہ معلوم کرنا کہ الحاق کس زمانے میں ہوا یا کس نے کیا، مشکل ہے۔ البتہ بعض الحاقات کے مطالعہ سے یہ قیاس ہوتا ہے کہ کسی نے منیر الملک کے زمانے میں اس کی خوشنودی کے لیے بعض اضافے کر دیے ہیں۔ چنانچہ مطبوعہ نسخے میں شیر جنگ اور درگاہ قلی خاں سالار جنگ کا احوال صریحی الحاق ہے۔ قلمی نسخے میں اس کا ذکر نہیں ...... اس کے علاوہ احوال مرہٹہ بھی اسی طرح الحاق کیا گیا ہے۔[۵]"

کتاب کا دوسرا مقالہ ٹیپو سلطان کی انگریزوں سے آخری جنگ پر ختم ہوتا ہے اور سلطان شہید کی شہادت کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے اس جملہ پر کتاب ختم کر دی ہے۔ "قصۂ کوتاہ تمشیت ایزدی چنان بود چنین شد۔"

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۵ میر عالم، ص ص ۱۷۴ - ۱۷۵

تاریخ دکن ترکی ماخذوں سے

از
جناب ڈاکٹر حمید اللہ صاحب ۔استاد قانون جامعۂ عثمانیہ

دکن اور ترکوں کے تعلقات تقریباً اتنے ہی قدیم ہیں جتنی دکن میں مسلمانوں کی حکومت ۔ اگرچہ ساحلی علاقوں میں مسلمان عرب دوسری صدی ہجری ہی میں کافی نمایاں حیثیت اور اثر حاصل کر چکے تھے ۔لیکن دکن کے وسطی حصے میں مسلمانوں کو پہنچتے پہنچتے چھ صدیاں لگ گئیں ۔بہر حال جب ترکی النسل علاء الدین خلجی نے اِدھر کا رُخ کیا تو اس کے اثرات دور رس نکلے ۔

چنانچہ دکن کی زبانوں میں سے تلنگی میں "ترکلو" اور کنڑی میں "ترکنو" یعنی ترک کا لفظ آج تک مسلمان کے لیے برتا جاتا ہی اور عام بول چال ہی نہیں، کتبات اور علمی تالیفات میں بھی یہ لفظ ملتا ہے ۔

لیکن دکنیوں اور رومیوں کے تعلقات جو زیادہ تر معاشی اور

سیاسی تھے، تاریخی مد و جزر سے متاثر ہوئے بغیر نہ رہ سکے۔

۱۸۵۷ء میں جب مغلیہ سلطنت کے انگریز کارندوں کے مبینہ ظلم و ستم کے خلاف ایک ہندوستان گیر شورش شروع ہوئی اور قریب تھا کہ ان خود ساختہ کارندوں سے نجات مل جائے تو انگلستان سے آنے والی کمک کو ترکوں نے باوجود غیر جانبدار رہنے کے اپنے صوبۂ مصر سے گزرنے کی اجازت دیدی۔ اس اجازت اور دیگر سہولتوں کے باعث ترکوں کے حریفِ ہمسر، مغلوں کا قبل از وقت خاتمہ ہوگیا تھا۔ لیکن یہ چیز نہ اب ترکوں کو یاد ہوگی اور نہ عام طور پر ہم ہندیوں کو۔ انگریزی نظام تعلیم نے ہمارے ماضی اور حال میں ایک بڑی دیوار حایل کردی تھی۔ لیکن جب ۱۹۱۴ء کی جنگ عظیم میں قدرت نے نامعلوم طور پر ہندی مسلمانوں کے ہاتھوں ترکوں کو ۱۸۵۷ء کی سزا اور بدلہ دلا دیا تو ساتھ ہی ہندی مسلمانوں میں تعلیمی حد تک بھی ایک انقلاب ہوگیا۔ خاص کر دکن میں جامعہ عثمانیہ کا قیام اس کا نقطۂ آغاز سمجھا جاسکتا ہے تو ترکی شہزادی کا ولی عہد دکن کے حبالۂ نکاح میں آنا حیدرآباد اور ترکی میں غیر محسوس طور پر علمی تعلقات بڑھنے کا باعث بنا۔ حیدرآباد میں عرصہ سے ترکی زبان سیکھنے کے خانگی وسائل موجود تھے۔ ان سے استفادہ ہونے لگا۔ ترکی کی سیاحت کرنے والے حیدرآبادی بھی بڑھنے لگے۔ آخر ہماری مجلس رفقاء نے جامعہ عثمانیہ میں ترکی زبان کی تعلیم کے انتظام کا فیصلہ کرکے اس میں مزید استحکام اور دیرپائی کے آثار پیدا کردیے ہیں۔

اس کے اثرات تو آئندہ معلوم ہوں گے۔ یہاں مستقبل کے ترکی داں طلبۂ تاریخ دکن کو یہ سمجھانا مقصود ہے کہ وہ اپنے موضوع کے متعلق ایک ایسا

ماخذ بھی رکھتے ہیں جس سے اب تک بے اعتنائی برتی جاتی رہی ہے۔

میں تاریخ کا طالب علم نہیں ہوں۔ ترکی ادبیات پر بھی میری نظر بہت کم ہے۔ حیدرآبادی کتب خانوں میں ترکی کتابوں کا کوئی خاص ذخیرہ بھی نہیں ملتا ہے۔ میرے خانگی ذخیرۂ کتب میں صرف چند درجن ترکی کتابیں ہیں۔ ان میں سے تین چار کے کچھ اقتباسات آج بطور نمونہ سنانے مقصود ہیں۔

دکن کے حالات ہمیں ترکی زبان میں زیادہ تر عام تاریخوں اور سفرناموں میں ملتے ہیں۔ اشعار اور افسانوں وغیرہ سے اس وقت مجھے بحث نہیں۔

یہ حالات مملکت آصفیہ کے متعلق بھی ملتے ہیں، باقی دکن کے متعلق بھی۔ جہاں تک عام تاریخوں کا تعلق ہے، ان میں زیادہ تر قدیم اور انگریزوں سے پہلے کے حالات کا پتہ چلتا ہے۔

اس سلسلے میں قدیم ترین حالات مجھے فریدوں بک کی منشآت السلاطین میں ملے ہیں۔ سیاسی دستاویزوں اور بین السلاطین خط و کتابت کا یہ مجموعہ دو ضخیم جلدوں میں اب سے کوئی سو سال پہلے چھپا ہے۔ اس میں سلطان بایزید کے زمانہ سے کچھ خطوط اور ان کے جوابات ملتے ہیں اور دسویں صدی ہجری کے آغاز سے متعلق ہیں۔ یہ کتاب کسی اور صحبت میں تفصیلی تحلیل کی محتاج ہے۔

دوسری کتاب سیدی علی رئیس کی مرآت الممالک ہے جس میں لکھا ہے کہ کس طرح دسویں صدی ہجری کے نصف دوم میں پرتگالی ترکتازیوں کے خلاف ہندی مسلمانوں، خاص کر اہل گجرات کو مدد دینے

کے لیے ترکی بیڑا آیا تھا۔

ایک اور پُرانی تاریخ میں جس کے نام کا ورق پھٹ گیا ہے، یہ لکھا ہے کہ ملیبار کی اسلامی ریاست کنور نے ایک سفارت استانبول بھیجی۔ تحفے میں دو ہاتھی بھی تھے جن میں سے ایک راستے میں مر گیا۔ سفیر نے ایک عربی قصیدہ پہنچایا کہ فرنگیوں سے مقابلہ کے لیے مدد درکار ہے مگر ترکوں کو اس زمانے میں اس کی فرصت نہ تھی۔ ہمارا ترکی مورخ اس پر ناک بھوں چڑھاتا ہے کہ بعض اشعار کا وزن درست نہیں تھا۔ لیکن وہ اس قصیدے کو نقل نہیں کرتا جس سے معلوم ہو سکے کہ آیا خود اس ترک مورخ کی عربی دانی اس بارے میں قابل اعتماد کہی جا سکتی ہے۔

ٹیپو سلطان کے حالات ہمیں زیادہ تفصیل سے اور کئی کتابوں میں ملتے ہیں۔ استانبول میں ۱۹۳۲ء میں، میں نے وہ مکان دیکھا ہے جس میں اب تک میسوری سفارت کے ایک رکن کی قبر محفوظ ہے۔ ترکی میں عام رواج ہے کہ ہر شخص کی قبر پر اس کی پگڑی کی شکل سنگ مرمر میں تراش کر سرہانے نصب کر دیتے ہیں۔ ترکوں کی قبروں پر تو ہزاروں قسم کی پگڑیاں اور ہیٹ وغیرہ بھی نظر آتی ہیں۔ لیکن میسوری سفیر کی قبر دیکھتے ہی فوراً محسوس ہو جاتا ہے کہ یہ ترکی نہیں ہندی ہے۔ میرے ایک ہم سفر رشتہ دار نے کہا تھا کہ بوئے کچوری می آید۔

اس سفارت کا خلاصہ تاریخ احمد جودت کی جلد سوم (مطبوعہ ۱۲۷۳ھ) سے لے کر عرض کیا جاتا ہے۔

بیانات میں کئی بادی النظری غلطیاں بھی ہیں لیکن عمداً ان کی نقل کی جاتی ہے:۔

ذی حجہ سنہ ۱۲۰۰ھ کے اواخر میں بغداد اور بصرے کے والی کے پاس سے ایک رپورٹ آئی کہ علاقہ کھمبایت کے شہر پٹن کے حکمران ٹیپو سلطان نے ہدیئے اور ایلچی بھیجے ہیں۔ جو سات غراب (نامی کشتیوں) میں ۲۸ شوال کو بصرہ پہنچے ہیں۔ بصرے سے تین منزل پہلے حسب عادت دواسر نامی مقام پر اطلاع دینے کے لیے انھوں نے گندھک کی چھے مشعلیں روشن کیں جن کو وہ ماہتاب کہتے ہیں۔ ہوا مخالف ہونے سے چنگاریاں ایک کشتی کو لگیں اور اس میں کا سامان جل گیا۔ جلے ہوئے سامان میں تین تین جڑاو "بازو بند" چلنگ" سورغوج" قلاوہ لی" زیور بھی تھے۔ لیکن ضایع شدہ چیزوں کے بالکل مماثل تحفے اور بھی سفیر کے ساتھ موجود ہیں۔ ان لوگوں کا گمان ہے کہ ترکی حکومت کے تین وزیر ہوتے ہیں۔ اس لیے ان تینوں کے لیے بھی تین تین تحفے آئے ہیں۔ مقصد یہ بیان کرتے ہیں کہ خلافت پناہ یعنی سلطان ترکی سے خصوصی رشتہ دوستی پیدا کرنے کے لیے ریاست پٹن کی بندرگاہ منگرور کو مع جملہ آمدنی و اموال نذر میں پیش کریں اور استدعا کریں کہ اس پر قبضہ و تصرف کے لیے ترکی سے ایک والی بھیجا جائے۔ وہ اپنے تاجروں کے لیے بھی مثل فرنگیوں کے تین فی صد محصول درآمد کی استدعا کرتے ہیں۔ نمونے کے طور پر بندوق پستول اور بارہ گھنٹے پانی میں رہنے کے باوجود گیلی نہ ہونے والی بارود بھی ارسال کی گئی ہے۔ بغداد اور مضافات کے مزاراتِ انبیاء و اولیاء کے مجاوروں کے لیے بھی تحفے آئے ہیں۔ نجف کے قصبۂ صواجز تک دریائے فرات سے ایک نہر لانے کے لیے پچاس ہزار بڑے ریئیے (روپیے) بھیجے گئے ہیں۔ حرمین شریفین میں تعمیر و ترمیم اور رباطوں میں وظائف وغیرہ بھیجا کرنے کی اجازت چاہی گئی ہے۔

سفیر کے ساتھ بیس بیس مور تھے ۔ ان میں سے پندرہ، تین سفید طوطوں اور سُرخ مرغوں میں سے تینوں، اور بیس کالے بندروں میں سے پندرہ، اور سفید و سیاہ دو ہاتھی راستے میں مر گئے۔ ہاتھی جیسے جانور ساتھ لانے کی اطلاع دو ماہ قبل ہمیں مسقط سے آئی تھی ۔ اگرچہ بین الممالک تحفے عادی بات ہیں لیکن اس دفعہ کی ندرت کے باعث اس کا انتظار رہا۔

اس کے بعد مؤلف نے قطع کلام کرکے واصف افندی کے حوالے سے لکھا ہے کہ منگرور کا نام تقویم بلدان اور جغرافیہ کی کسی کتاب میں نہیں ملتا ۔ غالباً یہ منگلور کا محرّف ہے ۔ منگلور ایک بندرگاہ ہے جو سومنات سے مشرق کی طرف ایک مرحلے پر واقع ہے ۔ حبیب السیر میں اسے بیجانگر کی سرحد میں ہونا لکھا ہے ۔ اس شہر میں دو مربع فرسخ کا ایک عظیم الشان بتخانہ ہے ۔ اس کا ہر ضلع دس دس ہاتھ کا اور اونچائی پانچ ہاتھ کی ہے ۔ اس کی جملہ دیواروں پر دھات کی پلیٹیں جڑی ہوئی ہیں ۔ اندر چار برآمدے یا دالان ہیں ۔ دروازے پر ایک آدمی کی مورت ہے جس کی آنکھیں یاقوت کی ہیں اور نہایت کاریگری سے بنائی گئی ہے ۔ پھر حاشیے پر لکھا ہے کہ ۱۲۳۰ھ میں خادم آبادی نامی شخص نے ہندوستان سے ایران و عرب جاکر جو فارسی سیاحتنامہ لکھا ہے، اس میں سندھ سے بحری سفر کرکے مسقط آنے اور ملیبار سے مکرر جانے کا ذکر ہے (بعض لوگوں کے حوالے سے منگرور کو پنجاب کا جزو بھی بتایا ہے!)

پھر اصل قصہ جاری ہوتا ہے کہ چار سفیر تھے جن کے نام سید غلام علیخاں، شاہ نور اللہ خاں، لطف علی خاں، اور جعفر خاں لکھے ہیں۔ یہ آستانہ پہنچے اور ۲۱ ربیع الآخر ۱۲۰۱ھ کو رئیس الکتاب (چیف سکرٹری) سلیمان فیضی افندی سے ملاقات کی۔

ملاقات میں ہندوستان کے عام حالات پر مختصر روشنی ڈالی گئی اور کہا کہ وہاں وزیر مطلق کو نظام الملک کہتے ہیں۔ اور غیاث الدین نامی نظام الملک کا انتقال اور محمد شاہ کے بعد احمد شاہ کی تخت نشینی سے ہر جگہ طوائف الملوکی پھیل گئی ہے۔

انگریز فرانسیسی پرتگالی اور مرہٹہ حملہ آوروں کا کروڑوں روپے کی آمدنی کے علاقے پر قبضہ ہوگیا ہے۔ بنگالہ کی آمدنی میں کروڑ ربعیہ سالانہ بتائی ہے۔ کرناٹک کی تین کروڑ، سورت و گجرات کی تین کروڑ۔ سفیروں نے پھر ٹیپو سلطان کے اپنے سونے اور چاندی کے دو دو سکے بھی ملاحظہ میں پیش کیے۔ بڑی اشرفی کے پندرہ اور چھوٹی کے چار ربعیے ہوتے تھے اور چھوٹے ربعیے کے چالیس اور بڑے کے اسی پارے (؟ پیسے)

ان سکوں پر ایک طرف:—

دین احمد در جہاں از فتح حیدر روشنست۔ ضرب پٹن

سال جلوسیہ سنہ ۱۱۹۹ ہجری

اور دوسری طرف:—

ھو السلطان الوحید العادل سوم بہاری سال جلوسیہ لکھا تھا۔

عرض مدعا کی خواہش پر سفیروں نے کہا کہ بصرہ دیگر منگلور سے

اس کا تبادلہ کرلیا جائے پوچھا کہ اس سے شہبندر (قونصل) وکیل یا مصلحتگزار مراد ہے؟ تو کہا کہ نہیں، بلکہ بطور اجارہ لینا مطلوب ہے اور یہ تبادلۂ اراضی بطور امانت رہیگا آپ جب چاہیں واپس لے لیں۔ مسافتیں، آمدنیاں، صنعتیں، آب و ہوا وغیرہ دریافت کی گئی۔ پھر ترکی رئیس الکتاب نے کہا کہ سلطان المعظم کی سلطنت اتنی وسیع ہے کہ اس کے جملہ ممالک کا گننا بھی ممکن نہیں۔ انہیں آپ کے کسی ملک یا بندرگاہ کی حاجت نہیں۔ وہ اپنا ملک جس کو چاہے بخش سکتے ہیں اور ایک لمحے میں کسی ادنیٰ کو بادشاہ بنا سکتے ہیں بہر حال یہ امور حضور شاہانہ میں عرض کردیے جائیں گے۔ آپ کی اور کیا خواہش ہے؟ اس پر سفیروں نے کہا کہ مکّہ، مدینہ، نجف، کربلا، مشہد حضرت علی اور خانقاہ پیر جیلانی پر چاندی کے دروازے نصب کرنے، اور وہاں ایک ایک مسافرخانہ اور ایک ایک نوبت خانہ بنانے کی اجازت دی جائے اور دیگر یہ کہ اگرچہ ہمارے ہاں بھی اچھے کاریگر اور اسلحہ ساز ہیں۔ لیکن اگر دین متین کی تقویت کے لیے توپ، خمبرہ (بم)، تفنگ، گھڑی، شیشہ، ظروفِ چینی اور آئینہ بنانے والے چند کاریگر بھیجے جائیں تو ٹیپو سلطان کی مسرت کا باعث ہوگا۔

چونکہ اس اثنا میں روس کا مسئلہ ظہور میں آگیا تھا۔ اس لیے ان سفیروں کی مذکورہ "بے معنیٰ" باتوں پر توجہ کی کوئی ضرورت نہ تھی۔ آخر میں حیدر علی خاں اور فتح علی خاں ٹیپو سلطان کے عام حالات چند صفحوں میں ہیں اور یہ پورا ذکر گیارہ صفحو

میں آیا ہے -

ایک اور مولف قارچین زادہ سلیمان شکری ہیں - انھوں نے "سیاحات الکبریٰ" کے غلط نام سے ۱۹۰۷ء میں لینن گراڈ میں (جو اس وقت تک پیٹر بورگ کہلاتا تھا) اپنا سفرنامہ شایع کیا - انھوں نے قریب قریب پوری پرانی دنیا کی سیر کی ہے - فوٹو اور ڈاڑھی سے نوجوان عالم معلوم ہوتے ہیں - قدم قدم پر ماشاء اللہ الا اللہ کا اعادہ کرتے ہیں - مگر زبان بڑی پھکڑ ہے اور یہ امتیاز نہیں کہ کس کو کس وقت کن الفاظ سے یاد کریں - مولف کو سلطان عبدالحمید خاں ثانی سے بڑی عقیدت نظر آتی ہے -

ملا عبدالقیوم مرحوم سے بمبئی میں ملاقات کرنے اور انہیں کے ترغیب دلانے پر یہ ذی قعدہ سنہ ۱۳۲۲ھ کے اواخر میں حیدرآباد پہنچے اور بہ ظاہر دس ماہ قیام کیا - شروع میں شہر حیدرآباد کا عام تذکرہ تعریف و توصیف کے ساتھ کیا ہے - حسین ساگر، میر عالم اور میر جملہ کے تالاب باغ عام، گولکنڈہ وغیرہ کی بھی سیر کی ہے - لکھا ہے کہ کتب خانۂ آصفیہ میں اسی ہزار کتابیں تھیں - بلدہ و اضلاع کی صنعتوں کا بھی ذکر ہے - پھر مرحوم اعلیٰحضرت کی بہن "بیگم بی بی صاحبہ" کی مظفر جنگ سے شادی اور اس محفل میں خود کے بھی شریک ہونے کا ذکر اور تفصیلات تقریب ہیں لکھا ہے کہ دولھا کی عمر چالیس سال کی اور دولہن کی پینتالیس سال کی تھی - دولھن کی اس بڑی عمر کی وجہ یہ لکھی ہے کہ کسی کو جرات نہ تھی کہ مرحوم اعلیٰحضرت کو یاد دلائیں - اس پر خوب بدزبانی کی ہے -

مہریں (۴۵) ہاتھی، ایک لاکھ گھوڑے؛ ڈیڑھ لاکھ اشرفیاں، اٹھارہ ہزار من بنڈی کا کچرا (عربہ قچیر دلسی ؟) (۴۵) من مچھر کی چربی درج کی گئی تھی مچھر کی چربی شاہی بیگمات کے سلسلے میں بہت قدیم چیز ہے۔ البتہ دوسری چیز بنڈی کا کچرا اعلیحضرت کی جدّت طبع قرار دے کر اس پر خوب مضحکہ اڑایا ہے۔

ترکی اور روس کی جنگ کے زمانے میں بمبئی کے ترکی قونصل حسین حسیب کا چندہ جمع کرنا اور تغلب کرنا بڑی تفصیل سے لکھ کر گالیوں کا ذخیرہ ختم کر دیا ہے۔

پھر لنگر دیکھنے کی بڑی تفصیل ہے۔ ملا عبد القیوم کے بچوں یعنی عبد الباسط، عبد المنعم اور عبد الرحمٰن صاحبوں کے ہمراہ حسن الزماں صاحب کے مکان جانے اور ان (۷۸) فوجی جمعیتوں کو دیکھنے کا ذکر ہے جو گزریں۔ فیل نشان، شتر سوار، جوانانِ کوتوالی، جمعیت بے قاعدہ، جمعیت باقاعدہ، سدی کا رسالہ، امپیریل سروس، فسٹ و سکنڈ لانسرز، جمعدارانِ مندوزی، جمعداران مہدوی، جمعیت سندھیان، جمعیت سکھان، غرض ہر ایک کا مفصل ذکر اور اس کے افسر اعلیٰ یا جمعداران کا نام وغیرہ لکھا ہے۔

لنگر کے آغاز کی تاریخ کے بعد حیدر آباد کے جغرافی حالات، امرائے عظام کی آمدنیاں وغیرہ لکھ کر برار کے متعلق ایک قصہ لکھا ہے جو ممکن ہے کہ چار مینار پر کسی سے سنا ہو۔ چنانچہ لکھا ہے کہ کرنل بار نامی ایک انگریز قونصل تھا۔ اس نے ایک دن اعلیحضرت سے بہت تعظیم و تکریم سے ملاقات اور "جلالت مآب" سے مخاطب کر کے کہا کہ برطانیہ عظمیٰ کی

سلطنت آپ کی بڑی ممنون و متشکر ہے - ہندوستان میں موجودہ امن آپ ہی کے اتحاد اور امداد کا نتیجہ ہے - اب صرف ایک چھوٹی سی تمنا رہ گئی ہے - حضور نے فرمایا کہ انگریزوں کی کوئی درخواست ہمارے دربار سے رد نہیں کی جاتی - اس پر کرنل بار نے کہا کہ برار کا چھوٹا سا حقیر علاقہ ہمیں دیدو تو ہم آپ کو سالانہ ڈھائی ملین روپے خراج دیا کریں گے - انگریزوں کو اپنا خراج گزار بنانے کے خیال سے حضور پھول گئے اور بیس ملین آمدنی والا علاقہ ڈھائی ملین کے عوض خوشی سے دے دیا - اس پر مولف نے حضور نظام کی عقل و قابلیت کو خوب صلواتیں سنائی ہیں -

اس کے بعد مدراس بنگلور وغیرہ کی سیر کا ذکر ہے -

ایک اور کتاب "ہندستان وسوات وافغانستان سیاحتنامہ سی" ہے جو احمد حمدی رئیس انجمن تفتیش و معائنہ نے استانبول میں سنہ ۱۳۱۸ھ میں چھاپی ہے -

حیدرآباد کا ذکر صفحہ (۲۷ و ۲۸) میں ہے - علاوہ معمولی و سرسری امور کے لکھا ہے کہ سکندرآباد کے کسی انگریز فوجی افسر کا سفارشی خط حیدرآباد کے انگریز سفیر کے نام لانے ہی پر کسی اجنبی کو حیدرآباد کی سیر کی اجازت ملتی ہے' ورنہ نہیں - ایک جملہ لفظ بہ لفظ ترجمہ کر کے نقل کرتا ہوں :-

"چونکہ انگریز ایک حد تک حیدرآباد پر ہاتھ ڈال چکے ہیں - اس لیے نوابان حیدرآباد نے اپنی مملکت (!) کو پوری طرح انگریزی

تصرف میں آجانے سے بچانے کے لیے سکندر آباد سے حیدر آباد جانے کی سڑک کے کنارے شہر کی سیدھ میں حسین ساغر نامی ایک تالاب بنا دیا ہے۔ اس تالاب کا پانی دھوپ میں نیلے آسمانی رنگ کا نظر آتا ہے اور ایک بڑا اسفرہ (؟) معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ اگر سکندر آباد سے کوئی فوج حیدر آباد میں داخل ہونا چاہے تو تالاب کا پانی نشیبی میدان میں چھوڑ کر اسے دلدل بنا دیا جا سکتا ہے اور فوجی نقل و حرکت روک دی جا سکتی ہے..........''

آخر میں ''مصوّر ہندستان سیاحتنامہ سی'' مؤلفہ سلانیک لی توفیق مطبوعہ ۱۳۱۸ھ کا ذکر کیا جا سکتا ہے اس میں ایلورہ کے حالات میں لکھا ہے کہ ۱۸۷۶ء میں جب پرنس آف ولز ہندوستان آیا تو مہاراجہ میسور نے ان غاروں کو خوب صاف کرایا ورنہ وہ بہت غلیظ حالت میں تھے۔

غرض ان ترکی تاریخوں اور سفر ناموں میں حیدر آباد اور دیگر دکھنی علاقوں کا ذکر ملتا ہے جن میں رطب و یابس ہر قسم کی بہت سی چیزیں ہیں اور جیسا کہ دیکھا گیا ہوگا' ٹیپو سلطان کی سفارتِ ترکی اور اس زمانے کے بحری سفر کے متعلق بعض ایسی تفصیلیں ہمیں ملتی ہیں جو ہمارے مقامی ادبیات میں محفوظ نہیں ہیں۔ ان حالات کی تحلیل و تنقید میرا مقصد نہیں ہے آپ لوگوں کو اس ماخذ کی طرف صرف متوجہ کر دینا ہی میرا مقصد تھا۔